

169 C O L O N E L
JOSEPH BAMFEILD'S
A P O L O G I E,

Written by himselfe and printed at
his desire.

Facit indignatio versus.



ANNO 1685.

A. C. O. L. O. N. I. E.

JOSEPH BAWFELDS

APOLOGIE

Written by himself and printed at

London 1702

P R E F A C E.

Albeit the unbounded liberty of the press, may sufficiently warrant my necessary undertaking; and that a modest, and needful Apologie, free from all passion, or unlawful Aymes, may bee, by an ordinary charity excused; if not fully justified; yet I had not run the hazard of the publique sentence being captious of my owne incapacity, had I not been in need thereof by some reasonable presages, that the end of my misfortunes (which can finde no other period) and that of my life, neerly approaches.

1. Neither had this alone prevailed with mee; unless constrain'd therunto by the Injust and (to any ingenious nature) most insupportable injuries, and Calomnies, of some, who are totally ignorant of the truth of my affaires; nor have ever had the least provocation, on my part, to counter the cruelty of their secret practices, and obscure proceedings against mee; to the endangering of my life, even since I came in this Province of Freeland; which (next the protection of God) I thinke has been chiefly preserved by my neglecting it: I not being ignorant of my danger, nor of the causes thereof, which I saw no certaine meanes of preventing, but by flight, disguise, and concealment; which I have ever through the whole cours of my great troubles, been resolved against; chusing rather to dye once, if I could not fairly defend my selfe; then live in fear of dying alwayes: Especially having a long time, considered death (if not in a dishonourable way) as the only end of my calamities, which I could reasonably hope for, and my most sure azile.

2. No less have their sinister and malicious practices contributed to the traversing of my fortune, which (I am perswaded) had not otherwise, been thus long desolate and obscure: by encreasing the jealousies, and indignation of some; who I have never willingly offended; nor otherwise, then through the insupportable necessity of my affaires heretofore; and the indispenfable compulsions of honour; which would not permit me to doe what I might (and most others would) have done: nor to have left undone, what in policy, and the general practice of mankind, I ought to have avoided, as essentially needful to my interests, and to the raising me, out of this sepulcher, wherein I have for some years lain buried alive;

which peradventure I should not have come short of, had I not been secretly calomniated, and circumvented, by underground, darck, and unavow'd (or rather never to bee avowed) mines, and traines, which in some kind, have not a little contributed, to the reading my wounds incurable, as well in England as elsewhere.

3. This being really my case, is also the sole cause, why I am enforced to expose my discretion to the capricious sentence of critiques, rather than to abandon my honour, by a womanish modesty, timidity and silence: leaving these persons triumphant in their victories, which they have attained by indirect, and most unjust means; I am not ignorant, what wrongs have been done me, by whom, and how; but know I shall never be openly accused, and by consequence, not have any occasion of vindicating my selfe, but by this means, to which only I can have recourse, and although, I am far from all hope of recovering what I have lost; yet I shall endeavour to let some see demonstratively, how far their credulity has been abused, and my innocency wrong'd; which I can no otherwise performe; then by declaring truly, and sincerely, what I have done, or not done; leaving it to the judgment, and sentence, of all unprejudiced, and unpassionate persons, to what degree I have been either unfortunate, or criminal.

4. What my transactions have been in some great conjunctures, I shall be as sincere and candid in; as if my eternal happiness, or misery, depended on the truth, or falsehood, of what I here expose, to the common view: which I only make publique for the vindication of my honour, though I clearly foresee, my interest may suffer by it; which weighs soe little with mee, that if this adventure meets but with a charitable reception from good men, and unpreoccupied; I beleeve (as true as I know my self) I shall not be much troubled, if my death should prove immediately after the Epilogue, to this tragedy.

JOS. B. AMFIELD.



T 17. years of age, I began to serve the late King of happy memory, Charles the-First, being ancient under my Lord Ashley, General Major of the Army, in the first expedition against the Scots; an Accord was made as other agreements in those times, of very short continuance; for the spring following, the war was the second time declared in that expedition, I was first Lieutenant in the Regiment of Colonel Henry Wentworth, brother to the Earl of Cleveland; shortly after, a Compagnie falling vacant in the same Regiment, by the favour of the King I obtain'd it. In the space of a year the peace was again made, and the Armies disbanded. The war betwixt the King and the Parliament followed shortly after; I continued in his Majesties interest and service; I commanded the Regiment of the late Duke of Somerset, at that time Marquess of Hartford. Generall for the King in the Westerne Provinces,

2. In the first encounter, which Arrived betwixt his Majesties and the Parlements forces; I was hurt and taken Prisoner; brought so to London, by the late Lord Hollis, at that tyme Colonel under the Parliament. Not long after, being at liberty; the King honoured mee with a Commission, for a Regiment; not being at that tyme, full twenty years old: having levied it, I returned to Oxford, where his Majesty held his court. Few days after, his Highness Prince Robbert, gave me a Commission, which he had procured of the King; to be Governour of Malmesbury; whereof I knew not any thing, before he was pleased to deliver it mee. About the month of April following; his Majesty sent mee order (being pressed for troupes) to march with three Regiments of foote, and as many Compagnies of horse, to Joyne his Army; for the relief of Reading; besieged by the Earle of Essex; and was rendered by Colonel Fielding, at the same tyme the King arrived there; which might greatly have endangered his Army; had the Enemy seen, and made use of their advantage.

3. In the month of June following, his Majestie sent Prince Maurits, and the Duke of Somerset with an Army into the west, whereof my Regiment was part; to Joyne with My Lord Hopton, and Lord Berkeley; who had beaten the Parlements forces, Commanded by the Earle of Stamford, not long before, in the Province of Cornwall, the Conjunction, was made; the towns of Weymouth (whereof the late Earl of Shaftsbury was left

Gouvernour) Taunton, and Bridwater being taken, and garrisons placed in them; the body of the Army Marched, towards Generall Waller, having first despatched my Lord Berkelay, with four Regiments of foote, and some few troupes of horse, to blocque up Exeter, to prevent the Earl of Stamfords raising of forces in Devonshire. Who was Generall in the West for the Parliament; but after the Battaille of Stratton reduced to the Gouvernement of that City.

4. The first day, wee came before it; the Enemy despising our small Number; sallied out, with a very considerable party; but was vigorously repulsed, beaten, and some of their out works, and the south suburbs possessed; which by reason of our want of Amunition; and our few forces wee quitted of our own accord, very many of their men were killed, and taken prisoners. The siege continued about twoe months: the Parlemtent endeavoured twice to succour it, once by land, from plimouth, and Dartmouth; which where surprised in their march, beaten and totally Dissipated. Secondly by sea, with the Parlements fleet, commanded by the Earl of Warwick, having two thousand souldiers aboarde, which he designed to land at Apfom, under the favour of his Cannon; but was prevented by our sinking (the night before) divers vessels with stones in the Channel. He endeavoured to land at other places on the strand, in his long Botes; but was always repulsed with loss, one of his ships was fired by us; another so raked through, by our Cannon; that they were Constrayned to fire it themselves, not able to bring it off.

5. About this time Bristol was taken by the Kings forces. Prince Maurits arrived before Exeter, with about 3000 Cornish foote, and some horse; having viewed all the quarters, and Approches; resolved on an Attaque; by the south gate; which was Committed to Colonel Chudly, and mee; with 2000 men; the manner left to our selves, at the place where wee intended to fall on; the enemy had twoe out guards, advanced from the southgate, the distance of musquet shot, of about 3 or 400 men; with a line of communication from the port, to the outworks, which, wee could perceive was but slightly maned; wee resolved with fire locks, and Pickemen, with pistols by their sydes; that light matches should not discover our designe; to march silently an hower before break of day, to assault the line jointly, by way of surprise: he on the left hand neare the outgarde, I on the right, neare the port; hoping thereby (if success full) to cut off the

(7.)

the retreat of the Enemy, which wee did; by this meanes all in the out works, were either killed, or taken. Whereupon wee Lodged our selves under the wall, reasonably wel couvered; soe neer the port that they durst not attempt a fally: In this condition and consternation; they beat a parley, desired a treaty; sent out hostages; Sir Richard Cave and I, were employed to treat, and had the place rendered even on our owne termes.

6. Having refreshed the Army, twelve or fourteen days, the Prince marched to Dartmouth, though late in the year, to begin a siege; before the severall Quarters were fully fixed, his Highness; the Earl of Marborow, General of the Artillery, &c. and Major General Bassett, fell all three at one time dangerously sick, which caused disorder and delay; the greatest part of the Officers were inclined to raise the siege, and retire the Army into Winter-quarters: Sir Richard Cave, Colonel Chudley, and my selfe opposed it, and wrote to My Lord Berkeley, (who was Gouvernour as well of the Province, as of Exeter) to come to the Army; at whose arrival resolution was taken to attacke the Town in two places: Colonel Chudley, and my selfe were ordered (as at Exeter) to assault one post, in divers places, he entered the first, beat the Enemy out of some Workes, but being unfortunately killed, his Troupes were repulld; those I commanded entered likewise, drove them from all their outworks, which was their chief strenght in that quarter; and commanded the Towne, which immediately treated, and rendered: whereof Colonel Seymour was made Gouvernour.

7. Towards the end of October, the King sent order to my Lord Berkeley, to dispatch mee with my own Regiment, and what other troupes he could spare, with all expedition, to joyne with my Lord Hoptons Army, for the relief of Basing, then besieged by Sir William Waller. I was immediately sent away with a Brigade of Foot, consisting of his Lordships Sir William Courtenays (not he of Devonshire, but another of the same name) Sir John Acklands, Colonel Strangeways, and my own Regiment: with three troupes of Horse: I joynd my Lord Hoptons Army; Basing was relieved, Waller retired, incamped advantageously under Farnham Castle; General Hopton followed him; presented him Battaille; the one would not dislodge, nor the other attacke him as he lay; the day following, a Councel of war was held, about the beginning of December, where it was resolved, that the Amy should separate into four Brigades, and retire to Winter-quarters, one with my Lord Hopton to Win-

Winchester, another under Sir Charles *Vavasour* to Alford, a third commanded by Colonel Boles to Alton, the fourth with mee to Petersfield, the Horse were divided accordingly, a party with every Brigade of Foote, whereof I had with mee Sir Edward Stowells Regiment of Cavalry, Sir Edward Fords, Sir Edward Bishops, four Troupes of my Lord Bellasis his Regiment, commanded by his Major Bovel, with the three Troupes which came with mee out of Devonshire. One present at the Council, declared his opinion, that it was dangerous to divide the Army into so many open quarters, whilst Sir William Wallers remained in one entire Bodie, since he could in one night (as his custome was to march) force any of the nearest to him, before the others could be advertised, joine, and succour the quarter attacked; this coming from a verry youngman was neglected as of no moment, though the consequence, ten days after, made it appeare, as one of Cassandra's predictions, which though always true, were never believed, till accomplished, or past remedy.

8. Four of five days after, my Lord Berkeley arrived at my quarter, from Oxford, bringing with him Sir William Butler his Regiment of Horse, with the Kings commands, to march incontinently towards Arundel, to take it if possible. I marched all tuesday with the Horse, and as many Musquetiers as I could mount, being favoured by a great mist, without any discovery, about four of the clock, wednesday morning, wee surprised, and forced the Towne; the greatest part of the Enemy retired into the Castel, which was rendered the Saturday following (when my foote came up) that the Souldiers should goe whither they would, leaving all Armes, and Amunition, both of war, and mouth having in three or four days, given the necessary orders, touching the defence of the Town and Castel; I left Sir Edward Ford there, with 400. Foote, marching all night with the rest (at the instanties of Sir William Butler, whom his Majestie had made Sherif of Kent) hoping to have taken Bramber Castel; but were prevented by Colonel Morley, and Sir Michael Livesie, who had possessed themselves of the place and passage over the River, with about 2000. Men, out of Kent, whilst I was seeking another forde, where I might pass the River with more conveniencie then in the face of the Enemy; my Lord Hopton by an Express, sent mee advertisement, that the General Waller (as was foreseen, and foretold) marching all the night from Farnham, to Alton, had forced that quarter, about breake of day, killed Colonel Boles who commanded the Brigade, and all the soldjers either cut of, or taken prisonners, and totally dissipated the

the Earl of Crawford's Brigade of horse, which misfortune had soe weakened his Army, that he could not hinder the enemies progress, which he was perswaded would be for the recovery of Arundel, before it could be provided of all things, necessary for its defence; which he recommended to mee with great earnestness, desiring mee to keep what forces I thought needful for the place, and to send back Sir William Butler, with the rest, to join his Army; assuring mee, that if I were besieged, he would relieve mee in eight days; expecting suddainly forces from Oxford.

9. I retain'd neer 800 Foote, with the four Companies of my Lord Bellasis Regiment of Horse, and my own Troupe; sending back all I could, under the Command of Sir William Butler; in less then four and twenty howers after, Genetall Wallers Army appeared before the Town, which I resolv'd to defend, as long as I could; and in case of necessitie to retire to the Castel, it was assaulted in three places, and no fortifications, but the ruines of an old wal, and without it (at some distance) a more ancient Line, and Ditch; but without Flanque; where I judg'd they might be most useful, I plac'd Major Bovel with his horse; and perceiving not far from mee, that a considerable bodie of the enemies Foot had pass'd the Line, with eight or ten blew Collours, which were of Sir Arthur Haselrigs Regiment, commanded by Colonel Birch (who I think still lives) and began to range themselves in order; I desired Major Bovel to charge them with me, for if we brake them not, the Castle might be lost as well as the town; we charg'd, routed, and drove them back over the Line: Colonel Birch was (as I remember) wounded in the bellie, and one Captaine Bedel casting himself amongst the dead bodies (as if kill'd) was discover'd, and taken prisoner: my horse was shot with a musket-bullet in the hip, and fell with mee; I had (aparently) been killed, unless rescu'd by some Officers of my Lord Bellasis Regiment: Another post where Major Fletcher commanded, was forced; he dangerously wounded, and taken prisoner; with great difficulty wee retired into the Castel, where the Enemy thought to have enter'd with us, but was repulsed.

10. In these conflicts many were kill'd on both sides. I found means to advertise the King of the state of the place, both as to its strenght Amunition, and Victual; of the twoe last wee were very ill provided, by reason of the suddainess of the siege, as soon it was taken. I receiv'd assurance from his Majestie, that within ten, or twelve days, I should be suc-

scoured; if I could defend it so long, which was (in some manner) endeavoured, but succeeded not. I held it out five and twenty days, to great extremity, it was rendered by the Council of War, upon quarter for life: I never signed the Capitulation, and might have been deny'd the benefit of the Articles, and quarter, had General Waller been cruel. Of above 900 Officers, and Souldiers, Horse and Foote, which I retain'd before the siege; few more then 200 marched out, the rest either killed, or dead of the bloody flux, and spotted feavour; with the first whereof I was my selfe attacked, as soon as recovered; I was sent prisoner upon my parole to London, without guards, were rendering my selfe; I was committed to the Tower; remaining there about six months, until I had liberty from the Earl of Essex, to procure the freedom of Sir Ellis Layton (at that time Colonel of horse under the Parliament) and of one Whyte, Capitain in the same Regiment, in Exchange, or to return again to the Tower within eight and twenty days.

11. The King granted their liberty, as soon as I arrived at Oxford, where I stayd but two days, and went post to Exeter by his Majesties commands, having dispatcht my affaires, for which I was sent, I returned towards Oxford; on the way I understood, that the Earl of Essex, and General Waller, were before it, the King brake through them, with what forces he had and retired to Worcester; Waller followed him: Essex halted some time at Burford, neer which, in my way; I fell into a small party of stragling Souldiers, without any Officer; I told them I had the Earl of Essex his pass for 28. days; that not more then halfe the time was expired, and was therefore free; that satisfied them not; I was unwilling to be taken having papers of importance, and cyfers in my cloths, and sadle; I was wounded in my left eye, and in danger to have lost it by the blowe of a pistol, which had been fyred in vaine; I was made prisoner, brought to Essex, who caused me to be dressed by his Chirurgeon for 2 or 3 days, and set me at liberty, according to my pass: I went to Oxford, where I remained till cured, and then returned to Exeter.

12. Prince Maurits, who had allways honoured mee with his favour, in whose service I had not been unlucky, employed mee in his Army; the Earl of Essex marched Westward, whereof his Highness being advertised, rose from before Plymouth, and strengthened with 2000 Cornish men, resolved to march to Exeter, and there encampe, under the shelter of the
Town

Town, and River, to keep himself from the necessitie of a Battaile, being very inferior in number to the Enemy; the same day the Prince marched from Okhampton, the Earl in the evening arrived at Tiverton, we at Kirton; some Quarter-masters of both Armies encountered, to make quarters in the same places; which was the first advertisement we had, where he was; and I believe he knew as little of us: upon the allarme the Prince dispatched mee with a thousand Foote, and some Horse, in the night to possess Exbridge, least the enemy should have been before hand; I did it, and cast up a brest worke. His Highness followed with the Armie; the Earl persued his march to Plymouthe, and thence into Cornwel; leaving the Prince, which seem'd strange to most. I conjectured at his reason, and found shortly after, that I had not divined amiss, but the recite is long, and here needles.

13. The very same day, his Highness received an Expres from the King in Cypher, whereby he was advertised, that his Majesty had beaten Wallers Armie, at Croplic Bridge, and was on his march to joyne both Armies in the West, if possible: His Majestie not knowing certainly, whither our Armie was come Eastward of Essex or not, thus unknown to either, things where in as good a posture, as if concerted; the Prince sent mee immediately to the King, with an account of all.

14. I met his Majestie in march towards chard, being joined, his Majestie followed Essex; wee would have come to a bataille, he not; wee encamped neer together; wee had dayly scermisses; our designe was to streigthen them for victuals; at the end of about 14. days, his horse broke through Eastward, under Lieutenant General Balfourd, the Foote disputed their post awhile, and then capitulated, to leave their Arms, Colours, Artillerie, Ammunition, and Bagage, and to march away with cudgels onely. Essex embarqued himself at Foy, this blemished his reputation, and shortly after lost him the Generalat.

15. The King marched towards Oxford, in his way thither was forced, to the second bataille of Newbury, where his Armie was something unfortunate, and had been more soe, if the jealousies (or rather the Diametrally opposite principles, and aimes) of the Chiefs of the Enemy, had not at that time (in some kinde) favoured his Majestie.

16. The Winter following, the whole model of the Parliaments Militie was changed, the Earles of Manchester, Essex, and General Waller put out: Fairfax made General, Cromwel Lieutenant General, and the officers and souldiers composing the Niew Armie; for the most part (if not all) at Cromwels devotion, almost all considerable persons of the Presbiterean partie put out. The King had for the following somer assembled, rather a good then a great Armie, betwixt which (despising the new model) and that of the Parliament, was fought that fatal battaile of Naesby, where his Majestie lost his Armie, and as the unfortunate consequence thereof, not long after, his Crown and Life.

17. The King being returned to Oxford the Winter following, employ'd me to London (Sir John Bamfield having procured me a pass to returne thither) to penetrate as far as was possible, into the designs of the two parties in the Parliament, in relation to his Majesties Person and Authoritie. I wanted neither means, nor assiduitie, to performe what I was commanded. I found the one very severe in their principles, as wel to the Civile, as Ecclesiastical Gouvernement: the other which was influenced entirely by Cromwel, resolved (and labouring) to change and destroye both; I clearly sawe, by Joyning, with the first, the roote of monarchy, was to be preserved, and did believe, the branches would againe growe out: to trust the latter, I saw no reasnable ground; what ever the specious pretences of some amongst them were; in their secret Correspondency with persons, of great quality, and no less credit about the King.

18. The Bulke of the party, and the leading men (as I knew, always sayd; and writ both to the King himselte, and divers others of the greatest quality; some whereof yet live) were resolved upon an entire subversion of monarchie, and the Establishment of a new Gouvernement.

19. Having (as I thought) light sufficient, to make these twoe points, as Clear, as by a Mathematical demonstration; I disguised my selfe, in my Groomes Clothes; and went with the Tame Carrier to that Towne; and thence on foote to Oxford; where I Entered in the Evening, without being knowne to any; onely the Captaine of the guard caused me to be brought to Sir Thomas Glemham, who was then Gouvernour; but I was so disguised that he knew me not; I told him in private that I came from London about some affayres which Concerned his Majestie; desiring him to appoint
me

me to some convenient place; where I might be private; and that he would send one of his servants to Mr. Oudart (who at that tyme was Under-Secretary to Sir Edward Nicolas principale Secretary of State) to come to me; which he Immediately did; and returned forthwith, to acquaint the King with my arival, who sent him back, with his commands to put the heads of what I had to say to him in wryting, that he might have time to consider of it, and would speak with me (at large) the night following; in the day, it being almost impossible, without discovery.

20. Accordingly, about eight of the clock, the next evening, I was brought where his Majesty was; none being present but Mr. Secretary Nicolas; the Duke of York; came in for a moment to receive his fathers Benediction, before his going to his rest. The King debated at large Every point, and circumstance, contained in my memorial; being at that tyme fully convinced that he could not expect any thing, but ruine from the Army, and there adherents in the Parliament; giving me newe instructions, concerning divers eminent persons, of the Presbiterian party, with letters to two of the Chief; and to a great and a wise Lady, who was in extraordinary credit, and had much influence upon the transactions of those tymes. His Majestie commanded me to acquaint the Queen, from tyme to tyme, with all that passed betwixt him, and me, and of all my transactions concerning his service; which I could better doe from London, then he from Oxford, which I did performe, by a constant Correspondence, with the Earle of St. Albans, during the space of about three Years, untill I was commanded out of England for other services.

21. The King having charged me, with new Instructions, letters, and all things expedient for his service, dispatched me againe to London: when Immediately upon my arrivall I spake with those, to whom his Majestie had written; two whereof were unwilling to receive their letters; but contented to hear them read; and after to see the hand, and signature; which they knew to have been all his owne.

22. By these means, some where gained by publique, others by their owne particular Interests: a few, who had been his Majesties menial servants, and in his favour; I thinke repented really what they had done; and resolved to efface. What had passed, by their future fidelity

23. But much the greatest part where brought about, through the apprehension, that the power of the Army, which dayly encreased, would overgrow the authorithy of Parliament; treading under foote all lawes, and constitutions changing the Gouverment, and Gouvernours; as frequently as the Pretorian Chohorts, did that of Rome, whereby the publique miseries, of the preceding civile war, might prove but the prologue to the following tragedy; Anarchy, usurpation, and tyranny; which begun, was nourished, and ended in blood: as the whole world, has been witness of.

24. Not long after, I had left the King at Oxford; the Army having reduced, all the rest of the Nation (some few places excepted) marched towards that Citty, to besiege both his Majestie and it; who being resolved not to fall into their hands, as long as he could avoyde it, was constrained to save himself disguised in an Ecclesiasticall habit: which was the most proper he could assume who not long after, sacrificed his life, for the maintaining of that profession; which he was fully convinced, was of Apostolical Institution; and had sworne at his Coronation to uphold; as it had been established by law, at the first solid reformation under the Reigne of Queen Elisabeth, who though a most Zealous Protestant; and the greatest pillar of the reformed Religion, throuwhout all Christendome; could never be induced upon any consideration, to the taking away of the Episcopal function.

25. The King haveing for that tyme, thus Escaped; threw himself upon the Scottish Army, which then besieged Newwarke; and upon the rendering of the Place, was conducted to New Castle: Whither (Immediately at his arrivall) he sent me his commands to Come with all diligence: haveing obeyed, his Majestie was Pleased to Acquaint me, with the State of his affaires, with the Scots; Whose conduct towards him, had not Given him the Satisfaction, which he reasnably hoped for when he had voloptarily, betaken him selfe to them, for Refuge in his distres: haveing heard all I had to represent, concerning the affaires at London, wich could any ways relate to his person, or Intrest; since his Escape from Oxford: he commanded me, to make a short deduction of all, in writing to leave with him, for the refreshment of his Memory.

26. Haveing remained there a few days: his Majestye was pleased to
trust

trust me with new Instructions, according to the change, and Exigence of his affaires; and to dispatch me back to London.

27. Not long after I received a Letter from him by an express whom he eminently trusted, to whose Information, he referred me chiefly in the following termes.

The Severall ends I have in this despatch, I have fully communicated to the Bearer: resulting from what you left with me, when you were Heere; and from what you, and others have written to me since; the Particulars are too long, and troublesome, to be put in chiffer, and too important to be hazarded out of it: Wherefore I must refer you to him for answer, to your two last, and for direction in your conduct, touching what you have propounded.

Your assured friend

CHARLES R.

28. Part of this Business needs not to be mentioned Heere, being in some kinde particular; relating to what degree two or three persons, might, or might not be trusted, and in what Matters: but the principal thereof was, to Engage the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Holland, Mylord Willoby of Parham, with severall others of both houses; so to contrive the Business; by their owne, and friends credit: that the propositions of the Parliament, which were resolved, should be drawne up (upon his Maj. message a little before, pressing earnestly a treaty) might be as moderate, as possible Could be Procured; and that such commissioners (by the influence of these persons, might be chosen to compile them, as neer the model, which his Matie. had given in writing, to the person already mentioned, as Could be effected.

29. The business was communicated, where it was most convenient: but the suddaine death of the Earle of Essex, through an appoplexy, rendered the propositions more harsh, and difficult; then peradventure they would have been, had he lived; whose was animated; resolute; would hazard more then all the others; had credit; and was every moment incited

ted, by the influence, and persuasions of his sister, the late Dutchess of Somerset.

30. However, Cromwell, the army, and their adherents in Parliament, fearing the very possibility of the Kings assent; in that extremity of his affaires: and by consequence, the frustration of their designs, leading to the destruction of his person, and the subversion of Monarchy; Employd all the artifices Imaginable, to have the King despoiled to reject entirely, the propositions, Without soe much as demanding any treaty, or Explication: which they concluded, would disgust (to that height) both the Scotch, and severer of the English Presbitereans (as indeed it did) that they should the easilier arrive at their great designe, in the overthrow of all; as it after fell out, and chiefly through that maxime, which he all a long persued, of keeping the King, and Presbiterans from agreeing; whereof the success, was even at that tyme clearly probable.

31. To this end, they connived at the escape of a person out of the tower, there Prisoner; and in reasonable credit, with the King: being moreover, a clergy Man; animated in the highest degree, against the Scotch, and Presbiterans; was a very proper instrument for their designe; though I shall doe him that right, as to declare my persuasion; that he suspected not the deceit wherein he was flattered, employed, and deceived; as many others were, unblemishedly faithfull to the King, but to credulous. This man (as I have sayd) escaped; made his speedy repaire to Niew Castel; being fortified with powerfull recommendations, from twoe, or three, great, and worthy persons.

32. The same day that he parted from London, one whoe was at that tyme, very intimately my friend, and in the secret; gave me a visite; telling mee, (with joye even in his eyes) that he came to tell me the best newes, that ever I had heard; being a particular recite, of the Escape of the fore Mentioned person; with his Message, instructions; and the overteurs he was charged with, to his Maj. from some of the army; and principal persons, of their adherents; whoe as he sayd were absolutely resolved to restore the King; upon his utterly rejecting the Parliaments Propositions; and granting them a full liberty of conscience; and such a power in the Militia, as might secure all to them, which his Maj. (as affaires stood) should finde himselfe necessitated to accord them.

Sect. 33. He added (as allready in triumph) that the business was as good as done; and that in less then three months, we should see the King on his throne; and in the full Execution of his Regal authority having heard him, with great attention (for his discourse was weighty, though his judgment deluded) without one word of interruption; I answered him at length, that I was sorry, I could not rejoice with him, at his triumphant newes; which I should undoubtedly doe, as much as any Man alive; if I believed the success would prove, what he and those engaged in that designe, figured to them selves; for he had told me whoe they were; three or four of the greatest, and one of the wisest men that served the King, on whole prudence, and integrity his Maj. relyed, as much as any mans. I added, I believe (or rather I knowe) this to be a manifest cheat; concerted betwixt Cromwell, Ireton, and some cheif persons of their adherents in the twoe houses; whose reall, and hidden end is (what specious pretences soever they make to abuse the credulity of yon, and others) to render this treaty ineffectuall, which has been brought about, with great difficulty and, against stronge opposition, even of those persons, whoe make these ouvertures now; hoping hereby to frustrate by adress, what they Could not hynder, by their debates; in the twoe houses and by Makeing it break of abruptly; by his Maj. Rejecting all the propositions in Generall; cast the odium upon him; and render the breach irreconcilable betwixt him, and the Presbitereans; whereby (as I had much reason to fear) the moste zealous, the most violent, and the least reasnable (which are allways the greatest number) would entirely abandon the wisest, and most moderate; uniting them selves to the armies party in both houses; whereby, the authority of Parliament, being joyned to the power of the army; both the Kings person, and Monarchie would be desperately exposed.

Sect. 34. I aleged further, that I knew his Maj. would never consent to the propositions as they lay; nor was it counsellable he Should: only that he would demande a treaty, and debate, by a power given to the commissioners to explaine and discuss, Every artickle apart, and in particular; which was the likeliest means to produce a good Effect: and that by such an answer, and demande, those persons whoe had (as then) the most credit, and cheif direction, would endeavour to depose the Parliament to consent by which means, and through reasnable expedients, which might be fownd out; the severest things might have been moderated; and

great difficulties remoued. To which end I told him, I had already written to the King; whoe seemed to be very well satisfied therewith; and disposed to give such an answer.

35. He replied, that he was (upon good grounds) assured, when his Maj. had heard, what this messenger forementioned, had to propound; he would not demande any treaty; and that the army would set him on his throne and make him a great King: I besought Almighty God, that it might prove soe; but that I feared, thy would at last take away his life, and crowne together, putting him in a capacity of possessing another in Heaven, more durable.

Señt. 36. The next day, I went to waite on the Marquis of Hartford, since Duke of Somerset; whoe the forenamed Gentilman had told me, was acquainted with all this transaction; and concurred in it: which I found true; and that he was persuaded the army would restore his Maj. suddenly: perceiving me obstinate, in the contrary opinion; he said these words to me: Colonel Bamfield, I have allways wished you well, and doe soe still; and therefor would advise you, not to oppose your selfe further, to obstruct this course towards the Kings recovery; for some of the clergy begin to suspect, that you have particular interests, in your transactions with the Presbitereans; which weigh more then that of his Maj. I made answer, that I had no other worldly interest, but what was involved in, and subordinate to, the Kings: that I never expected any advantage neither from the one, or from the other partie; but that I was soe fully convinced, of the desperate designs, secret practices; and principles of the army, and their adherents (where of I did not want light) that the groundless jealousy, of some men, nor their deluding hopes, should never make me prostitute my reason, nor act against it; or have any thing to doe with those, whose end, and underground workings were for the destruction of the Kings person, and Monarchie.

Señt. 37. A few days after this his Maj. answer came, but not altogether such, as these his freinds, whoe, I have mentioned, desired; but unhappy enough for him, to doe the armies business at that tyme, for the most Zealous part of the Presbitereans left, the wisest; and most moderate (whoe endeavoured to have made the Kings answer the foundation of a treaty) and being likewise irritated, by the Schotish Ministers, Gyllaspy, and

and others; joined with the armies adherents in Parliament; to demande of the Scots, the delivery of his Maj. person, to commissioners, whoe were sent to receive him; and guardes commanded by Collonel Graves. This was clearly foreseen, by the late Duke of Lauderdale (then one of the Commissioners for Scotland) the Earle of Holland, my Lord Willowby of Parham; my Lord Hollis, St. Phillip Stapleton, and very many others in both houses; whoe were at that tyme entirely for the Kings restauration, upon as moderate termes, as their conduct, and credit in Parliament, Could possibly worke out: and as the only expedient to remoue difficulties, wished, and endeavoured to bring the business to a personall treaty: by which means, they hoped to abate the severity of some demands, which all reasnable, and truly conscientions men amongst them, knew his Maj. Could not graunt, without violence to his conscience, in the breach of his othe; and divesting himselfe of all power, to maintaine ye lawes, protect his subjects; orto preserve himselfe; and his posterity, from being deprived, of that les then halfe his regall, and just authority; which his assenting to those propositions (in the termes they were drawne up) would have left him: the remaining part of his power being but precario; and at the arbitrement of every succeeding Parliament.

Sect. 38. The wisest amongst them, Considered, and acknowledged theise truths; and seeing a part of the Nation desposed with the army, and their adherents, towards a popular Gouverment; would willingly have had more power in the King; then when they began the war, they desired, or designed.

Sect. 39. On the contrary; the adverse partie, was absolutely against a treaty, which they feared might lead to moderation on both sides; and produce an accord; destructive to those great projects, the cheifs of them, had figured to themselves, for a long tyme; and resolved upon, after the new modeling of the army: to prevent an agreement; they must hinder a treaty; to which end, that party, in both houses haveing at first, vigorously opposed, sending of any propositions to the King; but that being carried against them, in the affirmative: by great adress, and insuling jealousies concerning Religeon, into the greatest number of the Presbitereans; (few of them being States men, by experience, and peradventure, not all by reason) they easily drew them to a vote, that his Maj. Should be obliged to signe the propositions in the termes, as they were sent him by both

houses, allowing no latitude, to the Commissioners by whome they were sent; to treat or debate one syllable: knowing very well, that the King; neither would; nor indeed Could; consent to them as they were; neither with Conscience, honour, or safety: however, least the extreme danger whereunto he lay exposed; might have prevailed with him to consent; they made use of the stratagem, I have already mentioned, of insinuating into the belief of many of the most considerable of the Kings friends, that the army would restore him, upon certaine conditions specified; whoe led his Maj. himselfe to some hopes of it.

SECT. 40. By these means the King was by the Scots delivered to the commissioners, sent by the Parliament to receive him; by them brought to Holmby, one of his owne houses: where he was rigorously guarded, and very hardly used, in all considerations; not permitted to Speak with any man, but in presence of some of the Commissioners; not one of his domestique servants suffered about him, nor the liberty to write, or receive a letter, from the Queen, any of his Childeren, or freinds: knowing nothing what his enemies did; or what he was to doe himselfe. In this deplorable condition, one neper (whome the Parliament had placed about him, as his Barber) being gained; whose employment every morning, and evening neer his person, gave him the opportunity of conveying letters, un percevably into his hands; how strictly soever he was watched: by this conveniency, having written to him at large, concerning many things; and especially, of the disorders, begun betwixt the Parliament, and the army; and of all els which I judged necessary for his Knowledge, in that estat he was; he did me the honour, to write to me an answer, in the following termes.

Holmby the 15. April.

SECT. 41. I have received your cipher, and your twoe letters both without date; desirning you to mend that omission here after. And now to come to the business without further preambles; you must know that I am guarded, with such extreme severity, that I can neither write, nor receive any letter, nor speak with any of my friends (to let pass all other rigours) which are such, as I cannot but often tymes, profess publicly, that I can neither with honour, nor prudence, answer to any proposition, which either has been; or can be made me, whilst I am in this condition; for
what

what ever I can now offer, or consent to; will rather be interpreted to proceed from fear, or at best, to mend my condition, then from any motif of publique good: for I am as a blinded man; without the least light, of what I am to expect, from my enemies; or hope for from my friends: saveing what Gods Providence affords me; by the industry, and hazard of those, whoe are most faithfull to me: inso much, that I cannot change my resolution; unless upon the certainty of gaining some advantage for the publique, which may counterballance, the passing by this reall point of honour: for I cannot admit of your distinction; of promising things now, to be ratified when I am at liberty. But when you can give me such an assurance, as may reasonably be depended upon, that the answer, which I am able to make to the propositions, will produce the effect of bringing me with honour to London; I shall not delay to give it; even before the twoe houses demande it of me.

And least your not knowing of my minde, might hynder you, from answering me fully, and particulardy, I have thought good to give you under my hand, what the satisfaction is, which I can give; to the four cheif propositions.

First for Religeon, I shall consent to confirme the Presbyterian Government, and the directory for three years (being the tyme as yet limited by the houses) provided I and my household, have the liberty, of serving God as formerly: and that allsoe, a consultation, and free debate, be agreed to, with the assembly of divines at Westminster (only twenty of my nomination being added to them) where by, I, and the twoe houses may agree, howe the church shall be Gouverned upon the expiration of the sayd terme of three years. Secondly, I will consent, that the Militia, by act of Parliament; as well by sea, as by land, shall be in the twoe houses for ten years: and at the expiration of that terme, to returne to the Crowne, as in the tymes of Queen Elizabeth, and of my father, of happy Memory.

Thirdly for their great seal, I will confirme it, and all acts passed under it: Provided that I be not pressed to disanull those passed under my owne; and that the Gouvernement there of, for the tyme to come, be in me; according to due course of Law.

Fourthly for the business of Ireland, theise other things being agreed, I shall give satisfaction therein.

I am content to lay aside, much of my owne proper right, for the publique tranquillity. And to agree to all, tending really, to the conservati-

on, and better reformation of the Protestante Religeon, as far as I may without wounding of my conscience, by the breach of my othe. And assure all those, with whome you treat, about these Matters; that no humane consideration, shall bring me further, as to these four propositions; tell 128., that without encouragement from him and from you, I shall not goe thus far.

Be carefull, that the twoe inclosed letters, be sudainly, and safely delivered; the one to my wife, the other to the French Ambassadour Adieu.

Your assured friend

C H A R L E S R.

Sect. 42. Having shewed this letter to some of the chiefs of both houses; whoe I had gained into the Kings interest: and that they had consulted, such of their friends, as they could trust, concerning his Maties. resolution touching these four principal propositions; and done all in the business, which was necessary, and (for me) possible; I gave his Matie. an account thereof: with all that I had learnt, and observed, touching the twoe parties; as well, as my humble opinions; there upon grounded; in answer whereunto; I received shortly after this following letter.

Holmby April ye 27.

Sect. 43. *I have received yours of the 24. present on thursday; to which in short my answer is; that no apprehension, nor yet certitude, of any evils, which can befall me; shall make me leave, out those twoe clauses, you mention; which are not circumstantiall, but most essentiall: and in such things, to relye to much on their good nature; or to believe, that they care not to converse, what they desire with soe much earnestness; or like children shall be soone weary of it, seems to me a most inexcusable folly. Wherefor, I com-mande you, to assure all, with whome you treat, or thinke further fit to speak with about my affaires; that I shall adhere firmly, without addition, or subtraction, to what I wrote to you in my last; only adding their expedient, which you sent me, concerning the Covenant; as to the substance, but not in the same termes, which they have drawne up; which I hope will give satisfaction to all reasnable men. Let no man see, the note in cipher, but doe all you can possible in what it containes. The greatest of the inclosed, is for my wife;*

wife; the other for the Ambassadour Bellievre, to whome I have written, to acquaint you with what he has done; or hopes to doe with those of the Scotch commissioners, which he believes he has influence upon; to the end you may write it to me in cipher. Let me know by your next, whoe gave you the note in French, which I found in your last: allthough I believe it a cheat; yet I have made no great scruple, to answer it; which you are to deliver, as soone as you can: and here after doe not engage your selfe to secrecy, in such addresses; for I will not receive any thing from those whoe Conceal their names; inconveniencies may befall me by it. If they thinke fit to trust you; they May me.

I am your friend

C H A R L E S R.

SECT. 44. Shortly after, upon the advertisements, which I had given his Ma^{tie}. touching the Parliaments resolution to disband the army; which effected (some pretended to me, that they Could treat with the King, in greater liberty and security.) But suspecting, that he would not meet with such reasonable Conditions, after, as before, the armies Cassation: I gave him the advertisement, with my humble opinions there upon, beseeching him to send his offers whilest things were in the condition, they then Stood. He was pleas'd to answer me as follows.

Holmby May the 8.

SECT. 45. Your advertisement, of the Parliaments resolution to disband the army; and of its discontentment, lets me, see the cause, of their delaying to send me the propositions: Were I assured that they would deal sincerely, and moderately with me afterwards; I should wisht the armies casheering; but the very ill usage, I receive as yet, from them, makes me suspect all things: that I can hardly resolve, what is best for me to doe, in such an unhappy conjuncture; and shall deliberate a little longer: however take you hence the occasion; to let those see, whoe say they are my friends; how much more reasonable I am (even according to their owne rules) then the authors of these disorders; which can never be appeased unless they agree with me: they know what will satisfy me; but the bottom of these mens designs, is not easily sounded: upon the place where you are, you know best how to urge this, with the most efficacy. According to the advice, your next letter brings me, I shall take my measures. Send the inclosed to my wife; and deliver the other
your

*your selfe to my Lord Dumfermlin ; and keep my correspondence with him
secret. farewell*

Your frend

C H A R L E S R.

Sect. 46. Upon the answer which I made to this letter, which contained very many matters of fact of great importance, betwixt the Parliament and army, whose differences flew very high ; with the opinion of others, as well as my owne there upon, the particulars where of, all though to long to be Here Mentioned, may be guessed at by the Kings answer, which follows.

May the 16.

Sect. 47. Monday last, I received yours ; which put such thoughts into my head ; that I could not delay the dispatching my Message to the two houses ; for undoubtedly, reason will be sooner heard by unreasonable men ; when they dispute whoe shall be master ; then when there is no opposition : and certainly, seeing many of those in the Parliament ; whoe pretend to be my friends ; make soe little account ; of what you have offered them in my name ; I can expect nothing from them, but extreme rigour, when they have no competitors ; for in the incertainty of their affaires ; they may judge me necessary, but then useless. What I send you now, is no more then what you know already, touching the four cheif propositions : and for the covenant, I have Done as much as I promised them. Cause my message, to be printed, and published all you can. Make my excuse to the french Ambassadour, for what he has written to me in his last, is of soe little concernment ; that it is not worth the payns to answer it in cipher to him selfe.

Assure him, from me, that neither Dumfermlin (whoe is now here) nor any els (saving you) shall know what passes betwixt him and me. Send the inclosed to my wife ; to whome faile. Not to give an account of all that passes, farewell.

Your frend

C H A R L E S R.

Sect. 48. I have many other letters, from his Matie. touching theise negotiations, at that tyme, not necessary hereto be inserted, for the end I propose to my selfe. The Parliament had past an ordinance, in both houses,

ses, for the disbanding of the army; which would not obey: their refusal, and proceedings there upon, were very high, and factions; and out of the power of the houses to restrain; their only force, lying in their votes, and orders; which the other laughed at, and despised; whose having thus begun, found themselves obliged to go on; or perish. The Parliament, was here at much alarmed; and the wisest amongst them began to repent, their having rejected a proposition, which was secretly made to them, and often urged, with weighty reasons: not to send the Scotch army out of England entirely, and at once; but at the same time to disband part of their own; and send away a like proportion of the Scots; and so by degrees make them selves quit of both. But this was refused, without alleging any solid reason against it; but only depending on Parliamentary authority, which they sayd, the army would never dare to disobey: they were likewise sorry, they had so long, and so much neglected, the great advances which the King had made; and told me plainly; they would endeavour the passing of a vote, in both houses, for the Kings coming to London; but that they apprehended, the army, there upon, would seize upon his person, before he could come thither.

Sect. 49. They desired me to write to his Matie. to know his inclination. I told them I would goe my selfe; to a friends house, within less then an hower from Holmby, and would write from thence, which I did all the same night post. Arriving where I intended before noon, the next day from thence I wrote Imediately to his Matie. inclosing my letter, in one to the Earle of Dumfermlin: I acquainted him with the great danger he was in, of being seized by the army; to prevent which, I saw no means, unless his Matie. would, and could save himselfe by night in disguise; and that I would have horses ready, very neer the place; to bring him to London; where (as affaires stood) I was persuaded, he might come to a reasonable accord, on the foundation of his Message. The next morning he sent my Lord Dumfermlin to me; whoe gave me, the following letter.

Holmby June 4.

Sect. 50. Referring particulars to the Earle of Dumfermlin, I shall only tell you, that what you proposed to me by your letter of yesterday, is quickly to be answered; that ever since I heard of the armies refusal to disband; I have
D of

often thought, of what you now propound; and am resolved, not to fall into their hands, if I can avoyde it: I have sounded the commissioners; about the expedient which you mention, of escaping with them to London: I have assured them to confirme my last message; and to treat with the Parliament concerning the other things in question: I have layd before them, the publique danger, as well as of my person; in case I should be taken by the army; all agree to it except two; whose say they cannot Consent, without order from the Parliament, it being to betray their trust; soe that I see no way to shun falling into the hands of the army, if they have the designe to take me; as soone as Dumfermlin returns; I will try againe, what may be done with those whose make the greatest difficulty. Expecting your answer this evening; if I can put in excusson by any means, what you move; you shall know my resolution speedily; to which end, you shall doe well to remain where you are, farewell.

Your frend

CARLES R.

SECT. 51. My answer to this letter was very short, having acquainted my Lord Dumfermlin fully with all things; whose had likewise himselfe, received letters from some of the Scotch Commissioners at London, which confirmed all I had written, and sayd; and therefor concluded some thing was to be done out of hand, for the Kings escape. He named the two persons to me whose opposed it; one where of commanding the troupes which guarded his Matie., without him it was not possible to have been done. The next morning, in stead of receiving any advice from the King, how I might serve him in his escape; the newes came, of his being secured by a party of the army, commanded by a cornet named Joyce, by his trade a taylour. His, Matie. demanded of him; what commission, or autorite he had, to offer him the violence he did: without soe much as moving his hat, or shewing the King the least respect; he shewed him with his hand, the five or 600 soldiers which he commanded; saying there is my commission; his Matie. without any (the least) emotion smilingly replied, t'was written in a very faire hand. In short; he was carried away to the army: some furious spirits amongst them, as Major General Harrison, and others, were for the putting of him to death, by an unammous sentence of the army: But Cromwell, Ireton, and the most politique heads, were for delay, and temporising, soe long, by amusing the King with hopes that they would restore

restore him ; till they had entirely broken the Presbiterian party , and rendered them powerlesse ; and themselves more absolute. Upon this foundation , Cromwell , Ireton , and other principal persons of the army , became very Civile , and some thing respectfull to his Matie. making great protestations of having no other designe but the setting him , with honour , upon his throne ; on his granting them a free liberty of Conscience ; with such a power in the Militia ; as they judged convenient for their assurance ; that they might not be deprived thereof at pleasure : but that tyme was needfull , to prepare the way ; and to dispose the minds of the army , to a submission thereunto.

Sect. 52. These promises , and deep Protestations , seconded by a free permission of his friends to wait on him : of some of his domestiques to serve him ; and of his chapelens to performe their functions , in his devotions ; according to the Constitutions , and Customes of the Church of England ; wrought very much upon the King ; especially from the hopes he had ; of not being constrained in his Conscience , in Matter of Divine worship , and church Gouvernment wherein he was much more sensible ; then in what concerned his prerogative , or the rights of the crowne.

Sect. 53. The chiefs of the army (especially Cromwell , and Ireton , whoe were great masters in that art) made large promises , and specious apparencies , without effecting of any thing ; or making any demandes tending to a positive conclusion , of what would satisfy them , or of what they would doe for his Matie. : and which was then to me remarkable , and worthy at all tymes of observation ; that amidst all these faire pretences , the armies adherents , in both houses , whoe did not any thing , but by secret concert with Cromwell , continually clamoured in Parliament , at the seeming liberty which the King had ; often alledging that he should be more restrayned , and that the chief delinquents (which was the Phraise in those tymes) ought to be brougnt to condigne punishment.

Sect. 54. Two or three of the leading men , whoe thirsted for his blood , severall tymes let fly expressions of that kinde , directly against his person ; and others a little cautious , more obliquely : but soe , that both the end , and the way to it , which these men had long projected , by mutuall agreement , was in my opinion sufficiently visible ; whereof I advertised the King constantly ; and frequently , the Queen ; by my constant adresses to the

Earle of St. Albanes, whoe lived when I wrote, and intended to Print this relation. As I mentioned all particulars of that nature, spoken in both, or either house, soe I named the authours; having had ordnarily once in four and twenty howers, knowledge of all that passed, which concerned the King, whoe was trained from place, to place according to their apprehensions, and designes, during the space of divers months; till Colonel Hamond was made Gouvernour of the isle of wight, and Kairesbrooke Castel more magnificently furnished, out of the publike warderobe; then was needfull for him, or futable to his condition; which by some others was taken notice of; and by me especially, throwgh an unexpected accident, to long to be here inserted; which gave me cause to suspect, and fear what shortly after unhappely arrived; which important circumstance, joined to divers others, not of much less weight, put restless thoughts into my head, till such tyme as I could obtaine a particular audience from the King; to whom I gave an exact account of my apprehensions, with the grownds of them.

Señ. 55. His Matie. answered; these reasons have weight, one may fear as well to little, as to much, especially as my condition is, yet if there be any faith in them, they will never come to such extremities; however their feeding me hitherto, with good words, and deep protestations, without reall effects; or coming in all this tyme, to any particular, or positive conclusion; makes me some tymes doubt the event; but on the other side, I cannot fall into all your apprehensions, which seem, now and then, to hypochondriacal.

Señ. 56. I replied, I beseech God thy may all prove soe; where unto I added, that I hoped there was yet an expedient, either to constrain them to doe his business, or to have it done without them. He smiled, and told me such a proposition was well worth the hearing, asking mee what it was.

Señ. 57. I answered, some of the most considerable persons of both houses (whoe I named) were unchangeably convinced, that the army jugled with him, whoe were resolved upon a totalle change of the Gouvernment; which designe (they whoe had late during the space of five, or six years, in the same assembly, with them; and had been privy, to their principles, and debates; and (without doubt) to many of their most secret contrivements) could see further into them then any els; and wished that
that

his Matie. would bring them to a short, and peremtory resolution, touching what would content them; as likewise what they would doe for him: because that every day, they gained power; and others whoe really desired his Maties. Conservation, and reestablishment lost it.

Señ. 58. If they meant syncerely, as they pretended; Cromwell, and Ireton, Could absolutely, engage, that party in both houses, to a concurrence with them; whoe were inseperably linked to his interests: and that the Presbitereans, would not hinder, but further it; to prevent what they reasonably, and exceedingly feared; to late finding that they had raised a spirit, which they could not easily lay againe. And that the event was very uncertayne, in their opposing of that power, which insensibly they had let glide out of their owne hands, and nourisht against themselves, to long, to be able to give limits to it.

Señ. 59. They considered that if the liberty of Conscience, which the army seemed to insist upon, were consented to, and the penal statutes repealed, the Presbitereans would have been included, as well as others; and for the power of the Militia, which was demanded for security, it must have resided in King, Parliament, or both: for in the Officers of the army, it could not be, without keeping up a continued standing Militia, which the nation could not bear, as unsafe, both for King, Parliament, and people.

Señ. 60. They were therefor of opinion, that his Matie without further delay, should have pleased to press them to a particular, and Catigoricall explanation of their full demands; which if he found such, as he could agree to; and that the armies partie in both houses, would syncerely concur; there Could be no insuperable difficulty in the business; nor any opposition, saveing what the Scotch Ministers, could have stirred up, whoe would never have approued of a liberty of Conscience, nor of any thing less then a Presbiterean Gouvernement jurê Divinô; which the armies adherents in both houses, were declaredly against; and I dare boldly say (for I understood at that tyme, the temper, and constitution, of that Parliament, as it really was) ten of those, whoe went by the name of Presbitereans, were not of the Schots opinion; but either for a moderate episcopacy, as the King had voluntarily offered it, at the treaty at uxbridge, when he was under no force, as the wisest expedient, to have remouved all jealousies

about Religion; or els were craftians; and for having the politique Government of the church dependant, on the civile, as it had been from the middle of Henry the eighths raigne, to that very tyme, (the six years of Queen Mary, only excepted.) And undoubtedly there was great, and clear reason; foreseeing, that where the Ecclesiasticale policy of the church, in the one, or the other extreme, is received (or shall be) as *Jure Divino*, the Hierarchy, has, and will gouverne more absolutely, then the civile, and supreme Magistrate; which has been manifest, for many ages, and is as demonstrable for the future, as any probleme of euclide; from which clear, and experienced ground, it may be thought, that no wise souveraigne Authority, will voluntarily part with the best halfe, and surest foundation of its power.

Sect. 61. But insensibly, I forget my selfe; this not being my business; nor was then, any part of my humble representation to his Matie. though above a yeat before, he had *tought* me that lesson, when he was at new-castle; in soe much, that by what I have here sayd upon this subject, I become but his echoe.

Sect. 62. Wherefor I shall returne, without goeing further astraye, to the matter, which led me to this short digression; to conclude, as I did then, to the King; that the opposition of the Scotch Ministers (though it might have made a little noise, could not have occasioned any interruption, to the success of what has been sayd.

Sect. 63. But in case, his Matie. Could not bring the army to such a conclusion, as this council imported; and that he found himselfe convinced; that their promises, and protestations, were but delusory; they whoe gave this advice, promised to endeavour, the passing of an order in both houses, to command the army to retire further from London; and to permit the King to come to some of his houses neer the city, to treat personally, for a well Grownded peace.

Sect. 64. His Matie. replied, this has some weight, being what I heartily desire; but I much doubt, the armies obedience; either to leave me at soe much liberty; or to retire to such a distance. However, I will press them as far as is possible, and prudent for me in the condition, I am; to a fixed, and positive Conclusion with me; and by you, shall acquaint them
with

with the success, if I finde it usefull to me. These men whose propound this to you, see to late, that they have improvidently cut out more worke, then they can make up without my help; but I cannot resolve to doe it all, at my owne expence.

Sect. 65. His Matie. (however) put this in practice with all the earnestness he Could; but met with continual demurs, and delays: that things were not yet sufficiently ripe: that the army was not soe unanimous as was hoped it would become: that there were disorders in it (which Cromwell underhand raised, to have a colour for protection, and for other greater ends which appeared on the theatre shortly after) that their friends in the Parliament, Could not be wrought to a full concurrence with them.

Sect. 66. These pretexts, were soe grosse, and obvious, that the Kings hopes diminished dayly. Where upon, those persons already mentioned, procured an order in the twoe houses, that his Matie. should reside at Richmond house; that he should be attended by the same persons, whose were about him at Holmby; thirdly that Colonel Rossiters regiment should guard him. All which Cromwell refused, and laughed at; declaring that the King should come no neerer to London, then the Parliament permitted the armies quarter to be. Where upon I alleged, to those persons, that all their votes would signify nothing, unless means could be found out, where by their orders, might be seconded, by such force, as in some degree was able, to counterballance that of the army. To which end none Could be thought on, saveing the Militia of London: which at that tyme, of trayned bands, and auxiliaries amounted to at least fiveteen, or sixteen thousand foote, and to have been brought together in six howers tyme; they were for much the greatest part Commanded by Presbiterean officers; which in divers battayles had done as good service, and fowght as well as those of the army.

Sect. 67. Where upon the Earles of Manchester, Holland, Lauderdale (whose though not of the Parliament, but one of the Scots Commissioners, had great credit in the city) my Lord willowghby of Parham, my Lord Hoblis, St. Phillip Stapleton, St. William Waller, Major General Massey, Major General Browne, all which and divers more, whose had great influence on the city, judged it now the criticall season, to engage it, to petition the Parliament, for the continuance of their Militia, under

under the establishment it was; which Cromwell, and his adherents laboured to have changed; but secondly to order that the King, should be left at his House at Richmond, in order to a personall treaty; thirdly that the city should be autorised to rayse forces, for the Parliaments, and its owne defence, and have power to chuse their General Officers. Fourthly that aleaven members of the Parliament whoe had been (a little before) throwgh an impeachment of the army, sequestred from their cession, with their owne consent, should returne to their places in Parliament; this designe was Caried on (in the beginning) with as great secrecy, as such a transaction Could be, by the persons above mentioned, where in I slept not.

Sect. 68. I acquainted the King with it, whoe approued the whole conduct: withall commanding me, soe to Gouverne my selfe, in my part there of; that he might not be necessitated to appear there in; first for his personall safety, as being in the power of the army: secondly that he might have been free, in Conscience, and honour, to agree with the army, in case that this designe should drive them to the necessity, of making good their severall protestations to him, which without being forced to it, he perceived they would never doe.

Sect. 69. Besides he told me, most of those with whome you treat, play now their owne after game; they began theise trowbles; which have brought me to this estate, and haveing by their owne Improvidence, throwgh their rigid dealing, when they had the power to have agreed with me, lost the dignity, and authority of Parliament; would now recover themselves by my hazard; wherefor, I shall goe as far along with them, as I finde consistent, with the publique; and my owne interest; charging you, not to engage my name further.

Sect. 70. I replied, that to communicate what measures his Matie. intended to take, would never be approued by those leading men; and might break of, and Frustrate the whole dessein, upon which (one way or other) his *personelle* safety, and restauration entirely depended: therefor the best course, I could steer, was not to let them know, that I had lately spoken to him about it; and that in case, they should press me to it, that they might have his engagement, to adhere to them, in their proceedings; I would employ all the adresse I could, to divert them from urging his Matie.

to any promise against them, in whose hands, and power he was, and many of them (if not all) desperately disposed to his destruction, which would undoubtedly produce violent, and precipitate practices against him, if they came to the least knowledge, or even jealousy, that his Matie. was in any kinde of collusion against them. He approved of this expedient; adding, that it was neither more, nor less than truth.

Sect. 71. Shortly after I was desired to move the King herein; where upon, I alleged the above mentioned reasons against it, with such enlargements, as they were satisfied. In fin, the trayne tooke; the city put in execution all that had been secretly contrived: petitioning the Parliament, for the confirmation of their Militia, according to the Establishment where in it was.

Secondly that they might have power to raise new forces, for the defence of the Parliament, and themselves.

Thirdly that they might be empowered to chuse their owne General officers. Fourthly, that the King should come to London, in order to a personal treaty; and that the cleaven secloded members, should returne to their session in Parliament.

Sect. 72. Here upon all Cromwells party, in both houses resorted to the army. The rest which constituted more then the number requisite remained assembled; voting all the cities demands. Whoe began to raise forces: chose theyr General officers, which were Sr. William Waller, Major General Masly, and others. These enrolled, both horse, and foote, which came howerly in to them.

Many officers, and soldiers; whoe had been reformed, at the instances of the army, as being of different principles from them, were againe employd. A proposition was made of seizing all the horses, within the lines of Communication, where withall, they Could have mounted 4 or 5000 troupers, which joyned to the city Militia, with the new leavied foote; would have made a more considerable force, then that of the army; which they knew, and apprehended. Where upon, Cromwell concluded, that the fox might on that occasion, doe more good, then the lion; employed all his artifices, even totum vlssem, to hinder all accord betwixt his Matie. the Parliament, and city; and the Kings party from joyning: prognosticating the entire ruine of all his vast designs, with the inevitable destruction of his person, and complices, from soe fatal, and ominous a

conjoncture : which to prevent , he presented a leaven propofals to the King.

Se^t. 73. First for the repealing of all the penal Statuts against recusants; with the taking away of all coercive authority from the Bishops.

Secondly, the repealing of all acts, conſtrayning the uſe of the common prayer.

Thirdly againſt the enforcing of the Covenant. The next propoſal, was compiled, in moſt ambiguous, and conditional termes; whereby (as I conceived) the very quinteſſence of this cheat was manifeſt, as followes here.

Fourthly the things before mentioned being ſufficiently aſſured; and proviſion made, for ſetting, and ſecuring, the rights, liberties, ſafety, and peace of the nation; his Ma^{ties}. perſon, and Royal iſſue, may be reſtored, &c.

In this propoſall, all man kinde may ſee, that there was nothing poſitive, nor to have been certainly depended on, for the Kings perſon, or poſterity: the means, for ſatisfaction in theſe great matters, which compoſe the body of the propoſal, being left indefinite; muſt have been the ſubſequent, reſult, of a new treaty, whereby a port remained open, to render the later claufe of no manner of Effect; ſeeing they might continually have declared, that no conceſſions which the King Could conſent to, with the preſervation of Monarchy, were judged by them ſufficient, to have ſecured (in their ſence) the rights, liberties, ſafety, and peace of the Nation.

The ſeven following propoſals, concerned entirely, the moderating of divers ſeverities towards the Kings partie; which were wiſe and juſt in themſelves; but moſt Achittophally politique, as to his end, which was only to bynde up the hands of the Royal party, at that conjoncture, and to hinder a coalition.

Se^t. 74. To render all his offers to the King fruitleſs; he had this reſerve, which he had formerly made uſe of, on the like occaſion; before his Ma^{ties}. eſcaped from Oxford: that though he, and moſt of his officers, had thought thoſe propoſals, a good fowndation for the Kings reeſta- bliſhment, and for the nations ſafety; yet if the Parliament would not be led to the ſame opinion, he could not conſtraine them. That he, the officers, and army, were but the nations, and Parliaments ſervants, not their

their masters. That they could only recommend their proposals, not enforce their acceptation.

Sect. 75. However, his Matie. having perused theise proposals, debated them, and lent to favourable an ear, to his, and his son inlawes explanations, and deep protestations; did conceive very strong hopes, that they were in earnest, and really intended his restauration, upon which grounds (whereunto was joyned the counsels, and pressing persuasions, of three persons, permitted by the army at that tyme about him, and in great credit with him) as likewise, being in their hands, and power, might apprehend, that his safety required his compliance. At their desire, he signed a paper, utterly desavowing, and disapprooving, the proceedings of the Parliament, and citty; embracing the armies proposals, as the surest fowndation for a well grounded, and durable peace.

Cromwell having obtayned this, caused some thousandes of copies, to be immediately printed, and dispersed through the citty, and nation; which gave soe full a satisfaction, to almost all the Kings frends; that they dissuaded what cittizens, they could have influence upon, not to oppose the army.

Sect. 76. Having gained this great point, he marched furiously towards London, where the desordre, and consternation was soe great; by the paper his Matie. had signed; by the endeavours of the Royal party; and of Cromwells owne, which were considerable in that place; as at his arrival, he found no opposition. St. William Waller fled into Hollande, St. Phillip Stapleton to calais, where he died in eight or ten days after; and many others retired to severall other places: divers of both houses, as well as of the citty, were imprisoned. A great part of his army marched through London, in triumph, he made one of his owne partie Lieutenant of the Tower, modelled the Militia to his owne pleasure, and interest; left some Regiments about the Mewes, and Whitehall, to encourage his frends, and terrifye his enemies in Parliament.

Sect. 77. This though (at that tyme) a bloodles victory, was in effect, one of the greatest, that ever he gained; making way to that unbowed power, which he after achieved, and waded to, through a sea of blood, in all the three nations; and which was most extraordinary, died in peace, and declared his successeur.

Se^ct. 78. This having succeeded, according to what he had long designed, yet hardly hoped for, but was resolved to hazard; he began to put of the masque, where withall he had hitherto disguised himselfe, as to what concerned the King; though not as to other subsequent, and great projections.

Se^ct. 79. He quartered part of his army, in the adjacent places neer London: Conveyed the King further from it; the counsels of the officers, and agitators, were assembled at putney: t'was now thought high tyme to breake with his Ma^{tie}. and for him, with his Mirmidons, to appear in their pure naturals.

Se^ct. 80. Subjects for desperate, and bloody debates, touching the King, were propounded in their meetings, by his, and his son in lawes instruments and secret instigations: though it was yet unseafnable, that the sceane of execution should be exposed.

Se^ct. 81. He seemed much concerned for the danger he had plunged the King into, and would appear willing to quench a reall tyre, (which he had kindled, nourished, and now cheefly, administred fuel to) with an imaginary water.

Se^ct. 82. This danger of his Ma^{tie}. was communicated to him, both by his friends, and enemies; but with very different intentions. Cromwell would not appear the last, nor the least concerned for his security; which undoubtedly, and visibly was, to have it provided for, in the Isle of wight. To which end he wrote a letter to his Cousin, Commissary General Whaly; whoe had the garde of his Ma^{ties}. person; signifying the disorders of the army, with the Kings danger; which being communicated to his Ma^{tie}. he recalled his word, which had been given, that he would not endeavour to escape: notwithstanding, whaly tooke not the least care to prevent it, which he undoubtedly would have done, had he not fore-knowne, what arrived very shortly after.

Peradventure being at that tyme a preacher, (as most of the officers then were) he was likewise a prophet; and Could divine, that his Ma^{ties}. escape, would prove but a translation, from an ill imprisonment, to a worse. In short he left Hamton Court (I will not say saved himselfe from it) few

few knew what path he had taken (though some I am confident did, besides those with him) till the newes came to the Parliament, of his being in the hands of Colonel Hammond in the Isle of wight.

It not being my business here, to enlarge to much, or to discant upon other mens allegations, for the excuse of Cromwells, and Iretons after proceedings, as extorted from them, through danger, and necessity, for their owne preservation; some whereof being false; others frivolous, and childish; I shall leave them as they are, without further reflexions; passing on cursorily, to some few matters of weight, leading to the fatall event of this most unhappy business.

The King being in the Isle of wight, and not finding his entertainment, answerable to his hopes; and that the personall security, oraculously promised him, was to be interpreted, in the sence of his enemies, tending directly, to his stricter, and surer confinement; and in the extremest danger which could threaten him; his escape was become much more difficult, it not impossible; and being advertised from London (means having been sudainly fownd out for correspondence with him) of those things which most neerly concerned him: and particularly, that propositions were preparing to be sent him. to obviate which, that he foresaw would beto his prejudice. He wrote a letter to the Parliament; confirming what he had offered them, in his Message from Holmby, some months before, with other very considerable additions; of the Militias being in their hands during his life; together, with the chusing the council, and Ministers of State; as likewise the payment of the arrears of the army; and concerning other things; he earnestly pressed, that he might with honour, and safety, have come to a personall treaty at London.

Sect. 83. In answer where unto; the Parliament passed four bills to be sent to the King, provisionally, for his ratification; which being returned as acts, his Ma^{tie}. should be admitted to a personall treaty. These bills were large; and needless to be recited here verbatim; the first regarded the Melitia, both by sea and land, to be entirely in their hands; and for the raising mony, for the maintainance there of, the last by inevitable consequence, must have contiued that Parliament to all perpetuity, by investing them with full power, to prorogue, and meet againe at their pleasure. By twoe of these acts, the King must have devested himselfe, and his posterity of the sword, and treasury, and established them in it. And by the last; given them such a power, as was little less then the legislative; which in a

short tyme, they would undoubtedly have drawne to themselves. It is here, remarquable, that Cromwell, and Ireton, whose six or seaven months before, by an adresse from the army, had in a menacing manner, demanded of the Parliament, to resolve upon, and declare a fixed period, to their session; thereby to make roome for a trienniall to be assembled; in this occasion were the most violent in pressing these four acts; before his Matie. were admitted to any personall treaty. And when the King had passed all, at this tyme demanded; and came to a treaty, it was in their power, whither they would have agreed with him or not; from all which considerations, and divers others, which undoubtedly he had; he waived the ratifying of any acts, untill all were agreed.

Sect. 84. Upon this refusall (which he foresaw from the very nature of the demands must ensue) Ireton after an invective speech, tending to the Kings rejection, and to the settling the Gouvernement without him, moved, that it might be resolved to make no more addresses to him; the debate lasted long, and as Ireton began, Cromwell ended, with bitter reproches against his Matie. and threatnings of the Parliament, if they passed it not: at length, this resolution, was forced out, not without vigorous opposition, of neer the halfe in both houses.

Sect. 85. First, that no further addresses be made to the King.

Secondly that no application be made to the King, by any of his subjects, without permission of Parliament, under the penalty of high treason.

The last vote, was relative to the first as before these votes (all most as soone as he was in the Ile of wight) I had found out means of correspondence with him, and of giving his Matie. constant advertisements, of all occurrences, which concerned him, soe notwithstanding this danger, of being punished as a traitour; I continued it even to the last: continuing to write to him, and to receive letters from him, both for my selfe, and others; the greatest part, of his intelligence, both with english, and Scotch passing through my hands, whilst I remayned in England, not without great hazard, (as may easily be conceived,) which had it ever been discovered, no humane means that I sawe, could have secured my head.

Sect. 86. Cromwell havinge (as I have already sayd, and demonstrated) from tyme, to tyme, opposed, and by his severall artifices; prevented all treaties (as much as he possibly could) and agreements betwixt the King

King, and the Presbitereans; by degrees, wrowght the Earle of Essex, Bedford, and Manchester; the Generall Waller, Major General Massey, Major General Browne, and all those Military persons, out of all employment, whome he judged capable, to bring any opstacle to his projects; in some Kinde reduced the city of London: and jugled the King prisoner into the Isle of wight, in the custody of Colonel Hammon, one of his creatures, he belived his game sure; which was the sole reason, why I ever declined, all treaty, or colusion, with those people, foreseeing clearly their ends, and as visibly their ways to them; even when the Generallity of the Kings party, assured themselves, that they would infallibly restore, both him, and them.

Sect. 87. My stedfastness, in the contrary opinion, and my endeavours, against that gross delusion; not prostituting my reason, to other mens phantasies, procured me many enemies, with very severe censures; leading divers to a jealousy, that I had rivited my selfe into that interest, rather for my owne private ends; then for his Matie. service, or for the publique behoofe of the Nation; which most groundless, and unreasonablen credulity, together, with the animosities, and calomnies which arose therefrom, had prepared the way, and facilitated my after ruine, althowgh I solemnly, and sincerely protest; that I alone declined the one party, as being unchangeably convinced, that they designed his Maties. destruction; nor applyed my selfe to the other, then by his commands, and (as things were in those tymes) that I Could perceave no other means for his preservation.

Sect. 88. Upon advertisements, I gave the King (which I know he had from other hands (of the foregoing votes, as likewise of what Cromwell, and Ierton, had sayd against him, he sawe to late, howe perfidiously they had jugled with him; which first disposed him to treat with the Scotch, and with as many of the Presbitereans in England, as safely Could, and would be treated with: which evidently refutes that ridiculous assertion of some, whoe pretend to be the Kings friends; that Cromwell, and Ireton, broke with his Matie. because he treated with the Scots; makeing the effect, the cause; it being notorious to all, whoe had any transactions in (and knowledge of) the affaires at those seperate tymes; that the King (after the armies propofalls) had no treaty with the Scots, or any els, till the votes of non adresses; and nnanymous protestation of the army, to live and dye
with.

with the Parliament, in the persuance of those votes; and for the settlement of the Gouvernement, without his Matie. and a little after; the like was done, by the Parliament, to live and dye with the army, for the same ends: and which was the wonder, of wonders; the house of Lords Passed this resolution first; with great zeal; and sent it downe to the Commons for their concurrence; whoe for some tyme opposed it vigorously; till threatnings and fear, caused many members to absent themselves; soe that it was carryed in the affirmative, by five or six vooices. Thus the commons contended to preserve the Peerage; for the abolishing of which, the Peers themselves layd this fowndation; which ensued in about a year after.

Sect. 89. These proceedings having been visible; and, his Matie. no other recourse for the gaining of his liberty, with the preservation of his crowne, and life; came to a conclusion with the Scotch Commissioners, whoe were permitted by the Parliament to, repaire to the King, about the Gouvernement of their owne nation.

Sect. 90. The agreement with them, gave such satisfaction; that they engaged themselves to enter into England with an army, as speedily, as well could be; and in order to conjunction with them, severall treaties were secretly mannaged, with the principall persons of the Presbiterian party. In a Parliamentary way; nothing Could be done with them, nor by them; because of the awe of the army; and the incertainty of many amongst themselves; whoe in divers debates, voted with the contrary party. Besides, that the very late resolutions, and protestations of both houses; rendred all propositions of that Kinde, vaine, and exceeding dangerous: in soe much, that there remained no other way, but to treat with them a part, and with the greatest Privacy. The result was; that they should declare at the same tyme with the Scotch, the Kings party being to joine with them. Upon the Scotch commissioners leaving the Isle of wight; his Matie. was more severely guarded then ever. Not with standing, I had constant correspondence with him: all (or much the greatest part of) his intelligencies, either with the Kingdome of Scotland, or England, passed my hands; not without great difficulty, danger, and expence. When all these transactions were concluded; the King sent me the following letter of credit, to be communicated, to as many of the Gentlemen of the Easterne association, as I should thinke fit; with the advice of those, with whome I had before treated. The Duke of Lauderdale did me the honour

to deliver it me, at his returne from Cairlbrook Castel; and to let me know what was concluded, betwixt his Matie. and the scotch Commissioners.

Cairlbrooke Decemb: 1647.

SECT. 91. Gentlemen, I have been long since advertised by Colonel Bamfield, whose I have often employed to you; of your good affections to my service: and since there may fall out, in a short tyme, an occasion, wherein they may be usefull to me; in the present condition I am, it may prove inconvenient for me; and to you dangerous, that I should give you Particular directions under my hand; I have left it to Colonel Bamfield, whose knows my affaires; and has order to communicate to you as much of them; as is necessary for the direction of your Councils; and endeavours; for the publike good of your country; and for him whose is.

For the Gentlemen of the
Easterne association.

Your most assured friend

C H A R L E S . R.

Jan. the 24.

SECT. 92. I have received yours of the 17 present; but have not as yet despatched to my wife, the Earle of Laneric, and my Lord Willowby: wherefor excuse me to the Earle of Southampton, that I have not answered his; which I shall doe by the first occasion: I am advertised, that it has been deliberated, by some of the army, to possesse themselves of the Duke of Yorke: consider if you cannot finde means to convey him out of England; cause the inclosed, to be delivered to him; for it concerns me neerly to have correspondence with him at this tyme: let me knowe as soone as may be, your opinion touching this busines; farenwell.

Your assured friend

C H A R L E S . R.

SECT. 93. Upon the receipt of this letter, I caused the inclosed for his Royale Highness, the Duke of Yorke to be delivered him by a sure hand,
F
whoe

whoe had that access to him which I could not have : and unless my memory failes me, (as I am perswaded it does not) he had been pleased, not long before, by Message; to let me knowe, that he had promised the King his father, whilst he was in the hands of the army; to make his escape out of England, as soone as he Could attempt it, on any reasonable appearance of success; demanding if Could not serve him in it; which I am confident I had undertaken; in which resolution I was fully confirmed, by these his Maties. commands; and not knowing whither by this occasion he had mentioned the business to the Duke or not; with his owne letter, I sent his Royalle Highness mine; which was transmitted againe to me; and upon his resolution, and answer; I framed mine to his Father. The Duke was pleased to commande me, not to precipitate the business; but to take necessary tyme; and use all circumspection, not to plunge him into a worse condition then he was; Having duly considered what measures were fittest for me to take herein; and given the King an account there of : his Matie, was pleased to write me the following letter.

Cairbrooke the 22 Feb.

Sect. 94. I have received yours of the 14 present; and being weary with deciphering it; I cannot answer to all its particulars; nor is it needfull: I will only tell you in Generall; that I approve what you have already done; and what you propose, for the saving of the Duke of York. I confirme the promise he has made to Howard; and the assurances, you have given him in my name; to be continued in the Charge of Master of his horse, although the Parliament has made him soe. The rest I leave to your conduct; committing you to Gods Providence: trouble not your selfe, about my other affaires; but thinke only of what you have now in your hands: bring him (if possible) either to his Mother, or sister; farewell

Your assured friend

CHARLES R.

Sect. 95. For some Important reasons, which I acquainted his Matie. with, I delayed this business untill the end of Aprill following; at which tyme, it succeeded happily; to the great contentment of the King, and of the Royalle family: his Highness arrived first in Zealand; and the next day in Holland.

Sect. 96.

Sect. 96. About six weekes after, the Parliaments whole fleet, quitted their unlawfull masters, came to anker in Gorée Rode; delivering themselves up to the Duke of York as their Admirall; which they knew he was by the King his fathers patent; and was really the occasion of their coming thither; and submitting to him.

Sect. 97. The winde which was favourable to bring them into Holland; prouved a storme to me, which occasioned my wrack ever since; having unhappily given some counsell concerning that fleet (it seemes) with too much precipitation; which was well meant; very ill taken, because most bitterly represented, by a person of quality, and (to doe him but Justice) of merit; betwixt whome, and me, there was at that time some competition, about particular matters; who according to the ordinary practice in such cases; to ruine my credit, and increase his owne; held it expedient, to couer his private animosity, under the specious vaile of Zeal to a more publique interest. I shall againe declare, what I have ever protested; that I had no other end, or designe; then either freeing the King out of his Imprisonment in the Isle of wight; or (if it were found Impossible, which I did not then belive (nor doe now) that is was) to have landed 1500. or 2000. men at yarmouth, to have countenanced a rising in northfolke, suffolke, and the other adjacent Provinces of the easterne assotiation: the probability of the one, or of the other, I shall here expose to any reasonable consideration.

Sect. 98. First touching the Kings freedome; I had been assured out of England, of a landing place in the Island; which I looked upon, as the greatest difficulty.

Sect. 99. Secondly, that we Could have landed with 2000 Men; having raised at that very tyme in Holland about 1200 English Soldiers, of the reduction, which the States had then made of the troupes of our nation, and might well have added to them upon such an occasion; 1000 sea men chosen out of the Fleet; besides that great assurances were given, that the inhabitants, would have risen, with us, if we could have furnished them with armes, which was to have been done.

Sect. 100. Thirdly, I could never conceave (in case of a free descent

on land) any great, or long opposition wee Could have met with by sea, not the least; the Parliament, not having had one ship of war fitted out, in ten weekes, or three months after. By land, as little; except what Colonel Hamond Could have made, with not above 5 or 600 foote, which was all he had; nor Could have hoped for more. Cromwell with the greater part of the army was marched against the Scots; Fairfax engaged before Colchester; and some considerable parties, of the army, diverted into walles, by risings there for the King at the same tyme. Moreover, if they Could have sent an army entire to portsmouth; or any other part upon that coast; to have been transported into the Island; not a barque, or bote Could have passed, without either being sunke, or taken. Besides there were many of the bravest, and best officers, whose had served his Matie. whose were Embarqued in the fleet: as Prince Mauris, St. John Boyce, Colonel WASHINGTON, St. Francis Mackworth, and very Many more; whose wee found retired into Holland at our arrivall, and some followd; nor is it to be Imagined, that in soe glorious an enterprize; but that the greatest contestation would have been, whose should have been readiest to have sacrificed themselves. For my part I never could apprehend any other difficulty in this attempt, then to have landed; which we had great, and likely assurances of; and in all events, our retreat was sure, and the fleet at liberty for any other designe, in case that could not have been effected.

Sect. 101. Which was, to have landed at yarmouth; where we were sure of a free reception: and did perswade my selfe, that a body of 2000 Soldiers would have had the reputation of double the number; and have encouraged the whole county of northfolke to have risen: which had been very well prepared by my transactions before my leaving of England; with St. John Hobart, and divers more of the Gentry of that shire, by the Kings commands and credentials.

Sect. 102. These were ye only ends I had in that transaction, which was then ye first step to my utter ruine: if there were any little irregularity as to some formalities, in the way leading there unto; the most it Could have amounted to, was an error committed through too much precipitation, & earnestness, which (I hoped) could not have been considered as a crime.

To have given advertisement to the Queen, and Prince; fourteen days tyme (at least) must have been lost; which might have rendered the whole designe, either Impossible, or much more difficult, and hazardous. More over,

over, if it should have been refused (as peradventure it might) to have gone forward with any enterprise, howe necessary, how profitable, or how glorious soever, would have been considered as disobedience, and have fallen under the interpretation of contempt.

Moreover, I considered, that the first, and chiefe duty which then lay upon me, was to contribute all I could towards the conservation; and liberty of the King; being likewise pressed by a second, which I concluded, weighed not much less, both of dependance, and obligation; from all which reasons joyned to the Importance of the designe, which Could not admit delay, I thought the wisest course was to put it immediately in practise, and after, to have excused the omission of some circumstances, by the weight and pressure of the affaire. Besides, I considered, that if the success followed, which was reasonable to hope for; a small error would have needed no great appologie: and if it did not; I was resolved to bear the blame; w^{ch}. I have abundantly done, though I did not foresee, it would have fallen soe heavy on me, nor have dured to perpetuity.

In the midst of these transactions, his late Matie. arrived at Helvot sluice; to whome a very bitter representation was made, of my proceedings; notwithstanding, twoe days after, his Majesty was graciously pleased, to vouchsafe mee a free, and particular audience, to hear indifferently what I could say; either for my justification, or excuse, w^{ch}. was much to the purpose, I have here aleged. Having patiently heard me; his answer was, very neer in the following words, or at least, exactly to the same sence. Colonel Bamfield, I am unwilling to believe all I have been informed, concerning your late proceedings, about this fleet; for if I did, I should trust you no longer; wherefor I am willing to credit what you say, as to the ends you had; but even according to your owne acknowledgment, you cannot deny, but that you have (in the way to them) very much sayled in your duty, and respect to me; but being contented to hope, that it has been through haste, and inconsideration, without malice; I pardone this fault freely, and charge you not to be discontented; for if I shall ever perceive that you are, I shall be more displeased with you, then I am, for what you have now done.

I confels nothing could have been, more generous, nor more gracious; and I resented it accordingly; with that humility, and thanckfullness, w^{ch}. I was obliged to doe.

About the same tyme, the Scots with an army, of 20000. Men, marched into England, answerable to the accord, that their commissioners,

not long before, had made with the late King, of ever happy Memory; his faithfull subjects in England, began to rise in severall parts of the nation; as had before been agreed upon; it began in Kent, something unseasonably, and through ye little (or rather no) experience of those whoe commanded, was more easily, and more speedily dissipated, then was expected; had they understoode theyr undertaking; to have left their owne province, and marched to Arundel, in susses; ye neer adjoyning county; w^{ch}. was prepared to have risen with them, before I left England: having possessed themselves of that fast place, defended on the one syde by a navigable river; on another, by a strong castle, situated on all most an inaccessible elevation; on a third by a deepe lake; neer mulquet Shore over; and by cutting a narrow dam betwixt it, and the river; the water Could have fallen into it if needfull; on ye fourth, by a wall, and ditch, though without flanke, which in twenty four howers Could have been cast up, after the manner of a good intrenchment: about 200 paces further advanced; was an old rampart of Earth, sufficiently high, which reached from the elevation of ground, where on ye Castel stands, to the side of the lake, which was a singular help, to a most advantageous retrenchment; which in eight and forty howers, by many hands, Could have been rendered of Admirable defence; by the direction of any, whoe understood the advantages of ground, for an encampment; and that had any indifferent, generall knowledg of fortification; which most officers, of any consideration, either understand reasonably, or ought to doe: besides, if it came to be forced; all the ground within it, was commanded, both by the Castel, and towne; and this part was the weakest of the foure; I mention this only, as one of the strongest, and most Important posts in England, or any where els that I have seen, for the defensible encampment of any reasonable body of an army; which that rising in Kent, then amounted to; and would have been double the number had they marched to Arrundel, by the addition of force, they would have had, out of susses, and Hamshire; both which Provinces, were for divers months before prepared to rise, with the first reasonable occasion; and posting themselves fastly for defence, I much question whether the army of Fairfax (which consisted nor at that tyme of 7000 foote) would have attempted them as they might have *Jayne*: at least, would have found a long worke to have reduced them; and given tyme, and aportunity to the rest of the nation to have risen; and formed themselves, into some considerable, and solid bodies. And as this had been, the most counsellable, and altogether Practicable, in that part,

part, and occasion; for had it been much more needfull, and profitable to the whole undertaking, and common interest of the King, and his faithfull people; had the Scots army taken the same measures, when they were advertised that Cromwell advanced towards them; and having encamped themselves advantageously, with a sufficient intrenchment, as they had places in abundance, where they marched to have done, almost Impregnable; and by that means have kept themselves from the necessity of fighting, unless upon such certayne advantages, as must probably have produced the ruine of their enemy.

As it was Cromwells interest, and resolution, to fight them as soone as possibly he Could; soe was it no less theirs to temporise, by a defensive war. After them; divers of ye nobility, and cheif Gentry, in Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmerland, and Yorkeshire, were in a combination together; and rayling of forces with all diligence; in soe much, that had the Scots but avoyded fighting, for the space of one month; which with great ease they might have done, by the advantageous posts, whereof in divers places through which they had marched, they Could have had their choise: by a good entrenchment (which at other tymes, was observed, they sufficiently understood) the forces of the four Provinces I have named, would have in that tyme, composed a solid body of an army, more considerable for Number; and in all other regards, then that of the Scots amounted to. Besides those of the easterne association, were fully, and unanimously resolved to rise: Cornwall; Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, the like; and wanted only a month or six weeks tyme: in fine, the whole nation was prepared as to the same end; and were in the way towards it; when the strange, and almost wonderfull defeat of the Scots army; by Cromwells, not consisting of halfe their number; broake all other measures, which had been taken upon that foundation, by concert some months before.

As they had neglected what I have already mentioned, touching encampment; soe when they came to fight (as if there had been a fatallity, both in the conduct; and success, they neither made use of the great advantages of their number, their army having been soe ranged, that the greatest halfe of their troupes never came to fight; nor profited themselves, of that benefit of the choise of ground, and other commodities, which a defensive army may have, against an enemy whose attackes it; which ought all ways to be held in cheife consideration, by all experienced; and Provident soldiers.

But

But to cease from all further reflexions ; that army was unfortunately beaten, and soe totally dissipated, that it was not believed that 5000. of them, ever returned to Scotland : this miscarriage and misfortune, stifled divers great designs abortively, upon the point of their production ; and cut of others, which were begun, before they Could come to any maturity.

Having been at that tyme, privy to all the designs, and measures, formed and taken, in that conjuncture, and in those transactions ; as likewise actively industrious, in the contriving, and advancing of most of them ; which (according to humane Judgment) I was fully persuaded, could not have sayd of the end, where unto they were directed ; of the Kings liberty, and happy restauration, both for himselte, his posterity, and subjects.

His late Matie. was out of the hands of his enemies ; the King now reigning escaped out of England ; the Parliaments whole fleet leaving them, returned to their obedience to their Souveraigne ; the Scots entered into ye heart of England, with the formed body of an army of twenty thousand men ; risings in severall places ; an universall, and well formed resolution, through the whole nation, to doe the same ; and upon the very point of being put in execution ; one great (and indeed unreasonablen) error ; and twoe, or three others, not much less (which to avoyd tediousness, as well as for other reasons I mention not) ruined all ; and shortly after, the whole fabrique of Gouverment ; causing such a violent, and Generall Conflagration, as I fear even to this day, has never been totally extinguished ; but as tyer hid in the cavernes of the earth, is often subject to make very dangerous irruptions.

The Scotch army totally defeated ; Cromwell Marched towards Scotland ; all other parties in England, which had declared for his Matie. were easily dissipated, and all places sudainly reduced ; the humane cause, of this extraordinary, and most unapprehended ruine of the Scots forces, was attributed, to the secret correspondence, which was more then believed, to have been, betwixt some of the dissenting clergy (which were much the greatest number) with other of the nobillity, whoe had opposed most violently, that expedition into England ; and Cromwell. As likewise to the great influence they had upon a considerable part of that army, which was knowne to some ; and had very convincing appearences to all : both from their extraordinary conduct, in suffering themselves to be constrained to fight against their wills, and contrary to the common interest, of the Cause they had in hand ; and when they engaged ; soe Improvidently to have

have ordered the business; as not to have brought halfe their army to fight: as likewise from the transactions, and accord, betwixt Cromwell, and that partie of the Scotch, when he came upon their borders.

The whole face of things, being thus unexpectedly changed, the more severe part of the Presbitereans, whoe had not long before concurred, with the armies partie in both houses, to the vote, of non adresses to the King, apprehending (when it was to late) the danger of the totall subversion, of the antient Gouvernement, of the three Nations; by theise almost prodigious successes of the army, changed their mindes; forsooke the army party; and joyning themselves, to the moderate Presbitereans (whoe in truth, and reallity, were strong Protestants, but no Presbitereans) were by much; the more numerous in both houses; nullified the former resolution of non adresses to the King; and agreed to a speedy treaty with him; hoping to have concluded it before Cromwells army, Could March southward, and joyne with Fairefax; soe to have brought his Matie. with freedome, Honour, and safety to London: to have voted all the Generall officers commissions voyde; to have employd others in their charges; and at the same tyme, to have raysed a new army in, and about London: by which means, it was hoped, all parties would have agreed together, whoe were friends to the antient Gouvernement; and to the lawes of the Nation; which were undoubtedly, nine parts of ten, in all three Kingdomes.

A day was prefixed, for the beginning of the treaty, forty days limited for its continuation; though that it was belived, it would have been concluded, in ten; through the necessity of the interests on both sides. Which had it been, I am confident the King had been happily restored, and a multitude of Calamities prevented; which ensued at (and since) his death; and (as may be feared) are not yet soe entirely ended, as wise, and honest men may wish. Artickles were drawne up, and Commissioners sent away with them to the Isle of wight. About which tyme, Mr. William Moray then of the bedchambre to his Royale Highness, whoe was permitted to be about the King, during the treaty; wrote me word, that his Matie. had commanded him, to let me know, that if I Could come into England, either by permission of the Parliament (where the Presbitereans had at that tyme the power) or secretly; my negotiations, at that conjuncture with those whoe had formerly had communication with me, about his affaires; and my advertisements to him, might be of great use.

As soone as I had received the letter, without much ballancing, concern-

ning the danger which I exposed my selfe to ; I repayed to flushing , hired a fisher boate of expressly , havinge disguised my selfe , as much as I could , arriving in twoe days at London , where I remayned secretly during the treaty. Very shortly after , haveing spoaken with Mr. Moray , whoe the King sent expressly to me , with a letter , and with his Commands ; I fownd means to speak with Generall Waller (whoe was returned from the Hague , whither he was constrained to fly , some months before , and sate now againe in Parliament) and by his means , and ordnarily at his house , with divers others of both houses. The great , and severe demands about church Gouverment , which really , and sencibly , touched his Maties. conscience , in regard of his othe , and of other considerations , the first forty days to which the treaty was limited were expired , without coming to a conelusion ; in which tyme I had written very often to the King , and received letters from him ; in all I writ , I humbly , and yet freely (as the matter required) represented to him , the dangerous , and almost desperate condition of his affaires , by the protraction of tyme ; and dit not faile on the other side ; to lay before those persons , of both houses , with whom I had dayly Communication ; as demonstrably , and as forcibly , as my reason Could reach to ; the horrible confusion , which would inevitably arrive , both in religion ; and the Politique Gouverment , to the utter ruine of the nation ; the consequences where of , their posterity might feel , and bewaille , in case the accord were not concluded tyme enough , to make somereasnable , and solid Provision ; against the desperate designs of Cromwell , and his army (which was on its march furiously towards London) before it Could arrive there ; desiring them to consider ; that they would finde empty Imaginations , supported only by the votes of both houses ; to weak to encounter the reall dangers , which threatned them , and the Nation ; by the audacious violence of those , whoe had allready gone soefar towards their pernicious projects , that they Could never thinke themselves secure , but by goeing boldly on to ye bloody accomplishment of it : which was clearly , and dayly perceaved , by the comportment of Cromwells party in both houses.

I wrote an ample letter , as sencibly , and convincingly as I could to the same effect , to the late Lord Hollis , which to my knowledg , havinge effaced my name (whither for his owne , or my consideration I know not) he read to others of the commissioners ; and fownd means to let the King see it : though at the same tyme , I wrote fully to his Matie. particularly , and plainly ; it being then no season to lessen , or render objects more agreeable,

able, then they were in themselves. I represented, that Cromwells army advanced with all possible diligence, I acquainted him with the practices of his party, both in the Parliament, the city of London, and in severall other parts of the Nation where they had influence: humbly beseeching him to conclude the treaty, before the army Could approache, to hinder the effects of it: that the Parliament might have had tyme, to have declared all the Generall officers commissions voyde; and some others, whose were most desperately active: to make new Generalls, and to raise an army in the city of London, and in the neere adjacent Provinces: and to bring his Matie. with honour, and freedome to London: and since it was feared; that he whose commanded the Guards about the King, would not have obeyd; as to what concerned his person; in such an unhappy event, I added some particulars; which I thought moste conducive, not only to the prevention of the greatest, and neere danger to which his Maties. person lay exposed; but in the worst which could fall out, to the preservation of Monarchy, in the persons of his posterity, in their just degrees, according to the due course of law, in that case provided, and not otherwise: it is most true, that upon a weighty matter, I had a most just, and necessary occasion, to mention nominally twoe of his children to him (as I had done when I judged it requisite very often before) adding for the conclusion of that paragaffe, which contained my humble opinion (for it was no more) theise following words: that it would undoubtedly be a great security to his affaires, and of no less encouragement to his frends; when his children were at the head of those whose should appear for him; where withall I ended my letter, which was the last that ever I had the honour to write to him. Had it been then printed, would have fully convinced all men whose might have read it, of my Loyallty, and Zeal, to the King; and for the preservation of his person; and no less of my fidelity, and affection to the service of his lawfull successours in their just degrees; as God, Nature, and the lawes of the Land had ordayned; without ever mentioning, or soe much as thinking upon, that villainous, and most foolish hysteron, proteron which I was secretly accused of (not long after the Kings death) by one single person alone, to have inserted in that letter. Had it been soe; it neither was, nor is comprehensible, howe he Could have knowne it; I never trusted him enough; to let him have seen any letter I either wrote, or received: nor did I ever know, any person of what quality soever, more exactly circumspect, in Keeping of his correspondencies secret; and the letters of those whose wrote to him, then his late Matie. was: nor Could he

have had any end, which might have counterballanced, the inconveniences that were reasnable to apprehend for his service; by communicating that letter to him; or indeed to any els; unless it had been for their Council (which this person in the judgment of all whoe knew him, was no ways capable of, nor proper for) in which regard his Mat^{ie}. would rather have communicated it to some other persons, of the greatest capacity in the nation; and of the greatest credit with him; and were at that tyme permitted about him; then to a yongue Man, of no Importance; and whoe had never served him: the truth is; had I wrote, what I was accused to have done; it had been in the highest degree, factious, and seditious; as well, as the most foolish project, and proposition, which Could have entered into the thoughts of any man, not actually in a frenzy; and fitter for bedlam, then for any reasnable society: nor Could I ever observe, that my greatest enemies; were at any tyme inclined to place me in that category. In fin my letter was never produced; nor seen by any man, that I Could hear of; but by my accuser; nor by him neither, in that sence he reported it. I well know to what an extent words written, as well as spoken, may be wrested; if there can in them, be any possibility of a double sence, the change of a point, of a comma, or of the least accent, may vary a whole sentence, or periode; as may be confirmed by a multitude of examples, both in history, and frequent moderne practice: but in what I wrote, there was nothing but simple and categorique naratives, of matters of fact; pregnant, and visible dangers; and humble representations, touching the best, and likeliest means, to obviate, and prevent them: where of his Mat^{ie}. himsele, was the most competent judge, whither they were reasnable, honest, and applicable to the condition he then was; to have been made use of, or rejected; according to his owne prudence, and pleasure. I shall here conclude this; where upon I have the longer insisted, as being the fowndation of my utter ruine: the source, of my great sufferings, during six, or seaven years; and those calamities, and necessities whereinto I was plunged, at that tyme, the causes of my offending his Mat^{ie}. to that degree he ever remained.

It is beyond the limits I propownd to my selfe, to enlarge to a particular relation, of the articles presented to the King, of the debates, and disputes there upon, during the treaty, which has been allready the worke of other pens more proper for it then mine. I shall only say, that had his Mat^{ie}. and the Parliaments Commissioners, come to the same conclusion, they.

they at last did, but twenty days sooner (which they might have done, for to the best of my remembrance, there were twice fourteen dayes added to the first forty, which was spun out to the last three or four) the King in my opinion, had not come to a violent death; the Nation, and the protestante Religeon, had been free from the infamy thereof; and secured, against the cruel confusions, which Immediately followed the effusion of that blood; all though his Matie. and the Parliament were fully agreed; and his concessions voted entirely satisfactory; and a sufficient fowndation, for a happy peace, and firme establishment in all his Dominions; yet by the violence of the army, which over whelmed all; very much the greatest part of the Parliament were seclused; and allways kept out; till Immediately before the Present Kings restauration; divers of the members imprisoned, and others constrayned to save themselves beyond sea.

In this deplorable condition of things, his Matie. a little before he was removed from Niewport by the army to Hurst Castel, apparently calling to minde what I had severall tymes represented to him, was graciously pleased to send me by Mr. William Moray, the ensuing letter.

THe danger, to which you expose your self, cannot be contreballed, by any service, there now remains for you to doe me; the severity of the Presbitereans, haveing ruined me, and themselves. You will doe well, to save your selfe, and to returne to your Master; and I commande you, not to Councell him to any thing, touching publique matters, without the knowledg, and approbation of the Queen his Mother, and of the Prince his Eldest brother; haveing no more to say to you, then to commit you to the protection of the Almighty God, I remain.

Your assured frend

C H A R L E S R.

Immediately after his Maties death; I was suspended from the Honour of wayting where I had done; and my coming to the court prohibited; which caused me to continue secretly, and disguised in England, in several places, not knowing well (in the disgrace I then was plunged) how to subsist elswhere; besides that I hoped there, to finde some favourable occasion, of serving the King; where by to remouve his displeasure, though it prouved not soe easy a matter, as some to Consolate me, flattered me with the beliefe of.

I remayned in that condition about a year, some tymes in one place, and some tymes in another; till at length, I was betrayd by one whoe had served me long, whome I had bred up from a boy, and much obliged. I was taken, and Imprisoned, and had certainly lost my head; unless by the extraordinary Providence of God, I had fownd the means of saving my selfe through a window of the Prison; which (all circumstances considered) was little less then Miraculous: the sea ports were soe layd for me, that I was constrained to remaine secretly in the city of London, in faithfull friends houses during the space of three weeks, when at last, I was convey'd over into Holland, by St. Roger de Lyvedy Capitaine of a Man of war belonging to Rotterdam, whose brother was since vice Admirall of the Meuse; twoe or three years after, his ship was seized upon at Hull, he put in Prison, where I have heard he dyed.

I had no sooner set foote on land, but I was forced into another misfortune, which was unavoydable, that constrained me for some tyme, to take my refuge at vienna neer utrecht; which added to his Maties. indignation; but it pleased God, that the occasion in few weekes was taken away; whereupon I repayed to Breda, where the King was in treaty with the Scots Commissioners; his Matie. would not permit me to appear in his Presence, nor at his court; he agreed with them, went into Scotland; it was not allowed me to wayte on him thither, though I made use of the intercession of some great persons, in no less credit with him, to obtayne that Grace.

Shortly after I followed, in company with the with the Earle of Disert, where being arrived Duke William Hamilton, whoe was killed at woster, the late Duke of Lauderdale, with most of the Nobility of Scotland, whoe were then about his person, employ'd their mediation, as earnestly, as duty, and descretion would admit, to bring me into grace, but Could not obtayne any thing; which constrained me to returne againe into Holland.

In this State I continued about five years, endeavouring to doe all the services I Could: frequently, agitated, betwixt hope, and despaire; till at length I had the happines to performe such a service as that some very great persons, both in quality, and credit, Improved it all they Could; to restore me to his Maties. favour; whoe prevayled soe far, as that he was pleased, to admit me into his Presence, and to kifs his hand; as all soe to receive the account I had to give him, of some matters which regarded his service; and to deliver his opinion freely enough, concerning persons, and things, relative there unto.

Which

Which gave occasion for me, and such as wished a period to my misfortunes, to hope that by degrees, I might have recovered his Matie. favour; which I believe I had not come short of; unless unfortunately I had offended, a person of quality, and at that tyme in the greatest Credit and trust about him, whose before my disgrace, had been one of my best friends, and very highly obliged me in many occasions; and after my misfortune, had carried himselfe indifferently, without doing me either good, or harme; untill at that conjuncture, he began againe to favour me; (*giving*) me his promise to doe me what good offices he Could; but being diametrally opposite in his Judgment, Councells, and Proceedings; to my humble opinions; touching the likeliest means, leading towards the Kings restauration; I unhappily used to much freedom in my argumentations with himselfe; and excessively more, in my discources with others, concerning him: in a letter I had written to the Earle of Disert, then at Antwerp; which was intercepted (to avow the truth) I had made some bitter reflexions upon his conduct; though without (*naming*) him; but being examined before his Matie. and his Councel, whither I had written that letter or not; though only a copy was produced; and but three or four lines read (at first) to me; I owned it. The reading ended, I was asked whose I meant, by the person not named, on whome I had made divers reflexions; I waved the declaring thereof, by all the evasions that my invention Could furnish me with; foreseeing into what a labyrinth of *nouve* troubles I should winde my selfe; if I entered into the list with him: I knew it would be in all kindes, impar congressus Achilli: at length, the King himselfe commanded me to declare whose I meant; which without the highest contumacy, I was obliged to doe: thus finding my selfe involontarily engaged; I undertooke the Justifying of all the particulars of my letter; which I endeavoured with much more ardor, then was futable to the condition where in I at that tyme was; whereby I offended his Matie. in the highest degree; and was blamed even by those present, whose wished me well.

This new wound prouved incurable; leading the King to a resolution of remouving me entirely out of his service, whereof, I wanted not information: which made me seek an oportunity to have audience by him: which at length I obtayned.

I began to speak about things, which concerned his service in Scotland; having heard me; and demanded some questions, which naturally arose from what I had represented; I Could perceave by his answer in the conclusion

clusion ; that he had no minde to have that string further touched upon : in soe much that I passed from it ; to my owne particular concernments : after haveing layd before him, the unhappines of my condition , through the long continuance of his displeasure ; I humbly besowght him to graunt me any one of three things ; he was pleased to reject all ; though they were easy ; of small Importance , and without the possibility (as I conceived) of any harmfull consequence : where upon , I threw my selfe on my knie, humbly beseeching him not to cast me entirely of ; that I had served his Royall father ; his Matie. himselfe, and the Crowne ; faithfully from my youth : that I had the same affection to his Person , and fidelity to his service, which I had ever professed ; and in many occasions , signally demonstrated : that nothing Could diminish my Zeal , but irresistible necessity.

His Matie. answered, he Could not believe , that those would serve him faithfully , whoe he did not thinke well affected to him : that I had ways of my owne , and followed my owne counsell in his business , which he would not suffer ; I replied , that if I had done soe ; it had been when I was at such a distance from him , that I Could not receive his orders , and that what I did , I thought best for his service ; but that in the future , I would never doe any thing relating to publique affaires , without his Majesties positive commands : he replied , I cannot graunt any of the things you desire ; one of them at this tyme , is not in my power ; not being in a condition to helpe those I would : the other twoe , I doe not thinke for my service ; nor have I any further employment for you. The to senceible anxiety , wherein I was ; finding my selfe irreparably ruined ; utterly deprived of all means to subsist , and hopeles for the future : soe troubled my reason , that I broke out of those boundes of duty , and profound respect ; which in all conditions , I ought as a subject ; much more as a meniall servant , to have confined my selfe to ; and sayd , it is Impossible for me to live thus any longer ; if your Matie. will absolutely abandon me , I can have no other refuge , then to endeavour to returne into England ; and seek my bread amongst your enemies , whoe I have hitherto opposed , with all the vigour , and industry , I Could : where upon he rose from the chear where he gave me audience , and told me ; I have no more to say to you , nor will ever have more to doe with you ; and soe retired out of the chamber.

Some persons of the greatest Calibre , by whose means I had obtayned that audience , whoe were present at a little distance , and had heard all that was sayd , reproched me with indignation , for my last words ; calling them rash ,

raith, undutifull, and insolent; and that none of my frends (afterwards) Could speak more in my favour; with many other such like expressions; and indeed, I sowed them ever after much more Cold then formerly: I procured an audience againe from one of them; not without some difficulty; which was likewise, the last, I ever had; where representing the hardness of my condition, and mentioning (as modestly as I Could dress my complaints up) my past services for divers years, which were very well knowne to the person to whome I spake; one whoe was by, made answer in some kinde of heat; all your past services, are lost in the ill success of the Kings businels: Other expressions, as sharpe as that, were added; which I then thought (as I now doe) were spoken, to drive mee off from the hopes of subsistence, from those to whome I had adressed my selfe; fearing (peradventure) that my ayme was to pin my selfe on them, whoe at that conjuncture, were in no very oppulent condition. I sough, and (in private for all were cautious of me, seeing the Kings great, and declared displeasure) obtained an audience, from another, where I had placed my last hope, and refuge: he heard me attentively, but sayd little: only in the conclusion, he told me he was very sorry for me, but saw not how he Could help me: to appear in my behalfe would make my condition rather worse, then better; as he sayd I might my selfe easily conceive; and Could in some kinde prove disadvantageous to himselfe; upon which termes I retired, never having spoken to him since; nor is it likely, that I ever shall.

Thus finding my disease (under which I had long languished) become incurable; and that all those, whoe had either kindness, or compassion for me; began to apprehend my sickness as contagious: as is done in the pest (*wish a Lord have mercy upon me*) had abandonned me: as perishing men in a shipwrack, save themselves as they can; soe I returned into England, having no other refuge in nature: which I did openly, and avowedly, as I had before declared I should be constrained to doe.

During the intervall betwixt that tyme, and his Maties. restauration, I did many things, which gave him Just reason to continue, and to augment his indignation, if that were possible.

The King was out of his dominions, another authority established; where unto the three nations either voluntarily, or by constrainte had submitted. Being thus Throwne out of his service, and out of all trust, and Employment; I abandonned my selfe to those counsels, which an insupportable necessity suggested to me, that according to the Judgment of the supreme legislator, renders divers other lawes dispensable.

H

I stayd

I stayd not long in England; had no conversation with any of the Kings friends; which I avoyded more then many of them did me. I was seldome there; but having concluded a very advantagious capitulation, with Monsieur de Tillier, at present Chancellour of France; for the raising of a Regiment of 2500 English, and Scots, and had obtayned liberty to doe it; I returned to London, to procure Marchands security, for my performing the conditions, on my part agreed upon, before the mony I was to receive, Could be payd me. Having accomplished, what was demanded, to the contentment of those concerned; a man of war was offered me, for my retransport to Deep, without my demanding it: I wondered a little, at the great civility; considering it, as a good presage, that I should meet with no new interruption, in the progress of my business: I went the next day poste to Dover; sending thence to the Downes, the order I had for a frigate to come thither, where I thought to have embarked my selfe: whilst I wayted for it, dreaming of nothing less then Imprisonment; the Gouvernour of the Castel, with the Major of the Towne, together with some Soldiers came into my chamber, shewing me an order from Cromwell, to seize all my papers, and to bring me, and my servants, prisoners into the castle; not one of them, having been permitted about me; nor to speak together, before they were examined; which the next day was performed: but my turne came not untill three or four days after; which was executed with great formality, and no less severity, upon seven Articles: which I looked upon, as very strange, and without any the least possibility of towndation; in soe much, that my answers, were positive, and some thing negligent; sufficiently knowing, that according to their owne constitution, in those tymes; they Could doe no more to me, then to revoke what had been graunted, concerning my leavies, and to keep me in restraint for some tyme. In a few days, I was again examined for the second tyme; not in the order I had been at first, but very confusedly, hoping to have intrapped me in some contradiction; but my answers, having been in substance the same, as at first, no advantage Could be fownd against me, by that course; and to have proued any materiall point, I knew was Impossible: which made me appear very indifferent, notwithstanding, the uncivile, and rude threatnings, of one of my Commissaryes.

The only thing, which had any shadow of truth, or reason, was; that a few days before my parting from London; a Gentleman with whome; I was very intimate, being at that tyme Gouvernour of a considerable place whoe in his heart, I knew was not passionately in love with the cause he was enga-

engaged in; having told me in confidence, that another, underhand solicited his charge, and he feared might deprive him of it. I was very free, and open, in my Councells to him, touching the best means to conserve it; adding in the conclusion, that as long as he held that post, in all events which Could happen, he might keep himselfe considerable: he answered me not a word touching that point: but after a short, and more deep Meditation; diverted his discourse, to another subject: the next day he acquainted Cromwell with the Councel, I had given him; not without, both change, and addition: whither this had been concerted before, and that he was employ'd to counterfeit, jealousy, and discontent to in snare me; or that he thought to profit himselfe in that occasion, by manifesting his integrity through his discovery, to preserve his charge I Could never know, nor with my selfe determine; this information, gave more credit to other Articles, then otherwise, they would have met with; which Cromwell himselfe, as lenght reflected on, as artificial contrivements, of some whoe he knew (by many intercepted letters) were not my friends, to obstruct my levies; and to ruine my credit in England, at that tyme; to prevent my doing the harme, they apprehended, which I never meant: at this very conjuncture, there hapned a misunderstanding at the Kings Court (then) at Bridges in Flanders; some persons having rettyred thence to the Hage; where upon purposely to ruine me, advertisement was given to Cromwell; that allbeit; I was very deep in his Maties. displeasure (which he knew as well as they) yet I was well with others, whoe were no less his enemies; and that my pretext for liberty, to make levies for France, was but to couer the designe I had, to begin a fowndation, for the advancement of another interest; some circumstances, relating to my affaires (where of he was not ignorant) afforded no small probability to this information, where in he was the more confirmed, by the Gouvernours advertisement, whoe I have mentioned, being likewise strengthened, by another, of little less Importance: which was, that Imediately, before my parting from paris, I had sayd something occasionally, to a person of quality of my owne nation, in confidence; that concerned England, and Spayne; he contrary to his promise, acquainted one of the French Ministers with it, whoe wrote it to Monsieur Bourdaux then Ambassadour in England, and by him was communicated to Cromwell; these twoe circumstances gave much credit to the chiefe information.

Having layne under this restraint, three weekes, and nothing to have been proued, but the Gouvernours advertisement, the businels of Bru-

ges being accommodated ; the grownds whereof he at last knew ; and was fully convinced that I was not faulty in the great designe. Which being urged by St. John Renolds, with some others, through their frequent solicitations for my liberty ; and for my permission to proceed in my levies ; he acknowledged that nothing stuck with him , saving the councill I had given to the Gouvernour I have allready mentioned : they aleged , that all humane affaires were subject to mutation ; and that if any change should happen , my words Implied no more then a bare possibility thereof ; but not that I knew of any ; or that I did with , or would further it. That the Councell I gave , was to a friend , whoe demanded it ; whoe then was , and whoe allways had been in his interests ; and that any man , upon the like occasion , might have given the same Councell.

His final answer was ; that after haveing Imprisoned Colonel Bamfield , we can neither trust him , nor he us : wherefor I cannot now consent to his levies , nor to his continuance in any of the dominions of this common wealth : his liberty he shall have , upon his engagement , to retire abroad within four days ; and not to returne into any of the three Nations , without leave of the Gouvernment : which I did , was set at liberty ; and to keep my word more exactly then I was constrained to ; haveing stayd one day at Dover ; the next , I hyred off an open shaloup to calais ; where I fell sick of a violent feaver ; which confined me for some tyme to that place. Thus I fownd my selfe utterly ruined in his Maties. favour , cast out of his service for ever : and by this contrivement , and accident (for both were in the business) to gayne my liberty , was constrained to enter into a voluntary exile : lost with the Gouvernment which then was ; totally frustrated of the chiefe end (for which I had broken withall my former friends ; by procuring leave , (contrary to their Councels ;) for my returne into England) which was to have gotten my selfe to the head of a Regiment of 2500. Men of my owne Nation , in the King of Frances service ; whereby I Could have subsisted with honour ; and Gouverned my selfe in other things , according to events.

During my sickness , which was violent , I fownd my selfe sufficiently contented to dye ; for being ruined with all the world , small hopes remaining to recover my self ; I Could better have submitted to a quiet death , then to have suffered those bitter anxieties of a turbulent , and afflicted life ; which I fore saw I was likely to undergoe , as hath befallen me , from that very tyme , to this day ; but the periode , either of our lives , or troubles comes not , as we often desire : Haveing recovered my health ; I
ende.

endeavoured to calme my minde; which was not without disorder; and to bear patiently those calamities, which I then felt: and to fortify my selfe to suffer those, which I foresawe, I was likely to undergoe; by a decree greater, and more souveraigne then solomons; which would require a support, sublimer, then what reason, or Philolophy, Could afford; feeling in my selfe, Just cause for what I apprehended; when I deeply reflected, on the violent passions, inordinate affections, and to great infirmities of my life past. I knew, plethorique bodies, repleat with vitious humours (if there were any hope of cure) had need of strong, and searching phisick. Which preparitories, have kept me from being entirely overwhelmed, with what I have since undergone.

I returned no more into England, till the death of Cromwell; which came to pass, neer two years after: St. William Lockart, whoe was then Cromwells Ambassadour in France, and Gouvernour of Dunkirk, to whome I had been knowne, before he fell into that interest; gave me a pass; with a letter of recommandation to one of his friends, whoe was at that tyme in great credit.

The factions, and divisions, in the army: the vinverfall discontents, in all the three Nations; which Could not longer bear, the confusions; of those tymes; being destitute of all Principles of Gouverment; either in church or state: the weakness of him whoe succeeded; and of those whoe followed him; that amidst the greatest Anarchy in the world, figured to themselves, a chimerical Democratie; which one of them Called a republique, as durable as the sun, and moone; wherein he vanted himselfe to have more greatness, then he wished for; which in eight months tyme afterwards, terminated in a strict Imprisonment in the Tower of London where he dyed; and his republique (as usually Anarchies doe) ended in Monarchy, many of the greatest, and wisest men of the three Nations taking occasion of those disorders, which underhand some of them increased, all they Could; opened the way to his Majties. re-establishment.

The next day after his arrivall at whitehall, I was comitted close Prisonner to the Tour of London, into the custody of a person, whoe had been one of the late Kings Judges, whoe was not only pardoned, but continued for some tyme, as Lieutenant of that place this may deservedly be considered as a wonderfull dispensation, to see me (who had very often hazarded my life, for the service of the crowne, and especially for the preservation of that King) become a prisoner under the care of one whoe had a principal hand in his death; because he was cunning enough, to help to destroy his

fellows , but a few days before the late Kings restauration , and when he plainly perceaved , there was no humane possibility to hinder it. I remained under a severe restraint about aleaven months; when by order, I was brought by St. John Robinson (then Commanding the Tower, the former having been remouved) to whitehall to be examined; which I was upon diuers Articles; by the Earle of Clarendon , at that tyme Lord Chancellour , and by the twoe Secretaries of State, St. Edward Nicolas, and St. William Maurits. What was true , I acknowledged ; pleading an inevitable necessity for what I had done; aleadging that those things , Could not amount to the crime , mentioned in the warrant for my commitment ; which was upon suspition of misprision of treason; my Lord Chancellour told me I was brought thither , only to answer categorically , to what was demanded of me. That pleading of my cause , was for another place ; if it should be thought fit to bring me thither: notwithstanding that rebuke , upon my further examination ; as the matter required , and Could permit , I defended my selfe , as reasonably as I Could ; in soe much , that his Lordship told me, Colonel Bamfield , I can perceave , that you have not been altogether Idle in the Tower; seeing you are arrived at soe much knowledg in the law , at least as you be-live; but I must tell you , that your wisest , and surest refuge will be , to have your recourse to the Kings clemency , and not to your Justification. I answered him , I had great need of his Ma^{ties}. Grace ; that I threw my selfe at his feet , and Implored it with all humility ; but was fully perswaded that his Lo^{pp}. desired not , that I should acknowledge my selfe , more guilty then I was : he replied no God forbid ; but it behouves you to be very Carefull , that some things you deny , come not to be proued , which the King has been informed of , and belives : I added no more , but if they Could be proued , I desired no Grace.

This examination lasted longer there ; then is necessary , it should doe here. In the conclusion , I was commanded to withdrawe into an ante chamber, where some of the nobility , and diuers Gentlemen were , standing by the fier ; and I went alone to a window over against them ; about halfe an hower after ; my Lord chancellour , and the Secretaries Came out ; and being ready to pass by me ; his Lo^{pp}. drew a little towards me , and I with a profounde reverence , neerer to him : he sayd aloude in the hearing of all present: Colonel Bamfield , I am your freind : Mr. Secretaries , and I , are sensible of your sufferings , and will doe all we can to obtayne you the Kings Grace , and to procure your liberty. And turning to St. John Robinson , sayd , Mr. Lieutenant you may let him have the full liberty of the

the Tower ; and all his friends whoe desire it , the freedome to visit him as we returned back in the barge , to the tower ; amongst other discourse (for then he was become very civile , whoe before had treated me exceedingly rudely) St. John Robinson told me , that he had conceived my business to have been much otherwise then he found it : that my Lord Chancellor , had been as moderate in his reflexions on my answers , after I was gone out , as he had been in the examination ; and at the end of the debate , spake these following words. The somme of all is , that Colonel Bamfield has served the Crowne from his youth ; and when we left him , he left us.

About three months after ; his Matie. sent an order for my liberty. I continued some tyme in London , where I lived with the greatest circumspection Imaginable , not to give cause of jealousy , or offence to any. Till at length Sr. Allen Apsty (treasurer to his Royale Highness) whoe did me the honour some tymes to see me , with a civile and friendly introduction , to very ill newes ; told me in plain termes , that the court was againe abundantly unsatisfied with me ; and that Particularly , his Royale Highness , the Duke of Yorke , had commanded him to tell me , that I ought to be carefull of my comportment , that if I fell into any trouble , he would have nothing to doe with me ; adding these words , the Duke is soe displeased with you , that I believe it easier for you to recover the Kings favour then his.

I with some Importunity urged him to tell me , if he knew any thing of the cause ; to which he gave no other answer , then that the best course he Could advise me to , was , for some tyme to retire my selfe out of England ; till the publique affaires were soe re-settled , that there might remaine no grounds of jealousy concerning me. I replied , I shall take this night to thinke of it , and would the next day give him an account of my resolution ; which I did the morning following before he was out of his bed.

I told him , that I had duly weighed his counsel , and was determined to follow it ; that though the storme I had stood out , seemed to have been abated , yet I Could perceive the sea was still unquiet , the winde contrary , and my ankers not the surest ; in soe much that I should seek another port ; his answer was , you doe very wisely ; for in case the least newe disorder should arise ; I am soe much your friend , as to tell you freely , that I perswade my selfe , you would be confined to a perpetuall Imprisonment. I replied I had rather dye ; he told me brusquely , that ; you may easily doe , if you have a minde to it.

I besought him to acquaint his Matie. that if he pleased to give me leave ;
I would

I would for some tyme retire out of his Dominions, till the affaires of state were soe settled to his contentment, that my returne might give no ombrage.

The apprehension of a continuel Imprisonment, had soe alarmed me; that I was willing to be gone as soone as I could; which made me hasten to him agayne, twoe days after: he told me he had fownd occasion to represent to the King my humble resolution of retirement; which his Ma^{tie}. approved.

He added likewise, that he had acquainted my Lord Chancellour therewith; whoe he sayd commended my discretion; councelled me to carry my selfe abrode, circumspectly, and Dutifully, not haveing to doe with factious, or scismaticall people; by which means he hoped to see me (in some tyme) recalled from my voluntary banishment. These discourses of his, together with some advertisements I had, from a person of great Importance, at that tyme of his Ma^{ties}. council, whoe either out of compassion, or frendship; by one of his neer relations, had desired to meet me in a third place; caused me to hasten my departure with soe much precipitation; as to leave my torne affaires, in a very disorderly condition: for he gave me some light, into the reasons of my new disgrace; as my often frequenting of some places, though most publiquely; which was interpreted to my disadvantage, as all things in nature, at that tyme, by some would have been: secondly that I had spoken words, to a certain person, with greater confidence, then discretion; which were looked upon, as marques of remaining discontent, and of factious inclinations; he told me the expressions, but assured me, that he knew not whoe the reporter was: where upon I named the person; avowing that I had sayd those words, or to the same effect. Acquainting him with the occasion; which was that this Gentleman, was not at that tyme in very much greater grace, in the court, then I; with whome some tymes I met occasionally; and at other oportunities he did me the honour to visit me; one day I retayned him with me at dinner; at the table, we discoursed of many indifferent things, as I tooke them to be; for as long as he was there, one of my servants was present, and (till neer the end of dinner) his footeman; whoe being gone out of the chamber, he sayd some words to me absolutely in rallerie, which was custumary amongst the great wits, of which number, he really was, both by nature, and acquisition, as any I knew of the Nation; the substance was, a paralelle he made, betwixt me, and one dead some tyme before, whoe had not been of the Kings most dutyfull subjects; referring to the future course of things, as he sayd they might fall out: I

(sus-

(I suspecting nothing, for we had lived during the space of twelve, or thirtien years, with great kindeness and familiarity) answered him, in the same dialect in pure, and manifest rallerie; nor could the thing it self, about which he had spoken, bear any other sence, if weighed without passion; and my answer; much less: if the antecedent, as well as the consequent had been reported; but he in another place, and to other persons, repeated only (and that grammatically) my words, as seperate from his owne, which he never mentioned; in soe much that where twoe sentences are relatives, if the later be reported, without the former, to which it related; the sence may be wrested oftentimes, to what one will. Haveing recited exactly the whole Matter, with all the circumstances, to this noble person; he shooke his head, and sayd, these are dangerous tymes, and such are most dangerous men; I besought him that he would acquaint my Lord Chancellour with this business, and all its circumstances. He replied his Lordship knowes nothing of my speaking with you, much less of what I say to you; and I desire he never may, nor any els. I have wished you well, as long as I have knowne you; and have been very sorry, for your misfortunes; and out of pure pittie, have adventured to speak with you; to hynder your falling into greater; which may prove as lasting as your life; and therefor I hope you will keep this meeting, and what I have sayd to you secret; otherwise, you will deal unwisely as to you selfe, and unthankfully as to me. Some persons of the greatest Calibre, are soe prepossessed against you; that your clearing your selfe in this point, will in no kinde help you; for the words themselves, can bear no action in law, nor be of any other consequence, then to confirme some in the belief long rooted in them; that you are discontented, and that your heart swells with mutinous, and revengfull thoughts; which is soe ingrafted, that if an Angel should descend from Heaven to declare the contrary, I may question, whither it would avayle you. Retire your selfe as soone as you can, be very circumspect in your whole comportment, and especially in your discources; wherein your best trends, condemne you, as often to free:

Speaking to him about his Royale Highness the Duke of Yorke, and my Lord Chancellour; he told me, the Duke is not (as I hear) inclined to you as he has been; and I easily believe, that Sr. Allen Apsley sayd the truth to you (for I had told him what it was) that his Master will not medle in your concernments.

I

My

My Lord Chancellour had kindenes for you; wrowght out your liberty; was opinion when you first came out of the Tower, that you might have been employed at sea; for the King would not endure to hear of your coming to Court; but now those thoughts of his Lordship are off; and though I can perceave, that he wishes not your utter ruine; yet if you should fall into any new trowble; you will finde no favour from him.

I have here inserted the substance of this noble persons discourse, and (as far as I can possibly recollect) his words. Upon these advices, twoe, or three days after, I embarked my selfe in a ship of Zealand, and landed at Middelburgh, where (meeting with very great civility, and kindenes, from all persons in generall) I remayned neer four years; when by the counsels, and very effectual recommendations of some of my frends I went to the Hague, where by their credit, and by the power of some persons in Holland, whome they had engaged to favour me; I had the honour to be received into the service of the State. Shortly after, Colonel Dolman and I were summoned by proclamation (without the specification of any crime, as the cause) to render our selves in England by a day, which neither of us doing, we were both proscribed; and which (I believe) was never done before, by act of Parliament, without any Criminal charge alledged against either; I shall not wear out tyme, with fruitless complaints, nor with any other kinde of reflexions, which can signify nothing. I only solemnly protest, that after my proscription, which was (I thinke) in the very beginning of the year 1656, till the month of April in the year 1674, I never wrote letter, nor sent message to any creature, in any of his Majesties Dominions; nor did receive any. Having not had in all that tyme (being about eight years) the least correspondence directly, or indirectly, either to good, or bad ends.

In the month of April 1674, when the peace was concluded, by the last treaty of Breda; I wrote three, or four letters, to twoe persons of great quality, in the most eminent employments about his Majestie, and in no less credit. Whoe had been bred up from their youth in the service of the crowne; one (with whome I had formerly long and great correspondence) returned me no other answer, then verbally, to him whoe delivered him my letter; that he was very sorry for the unhappines of my condition, but that the conjuncture Could not permit any man, to speak in favour of that unfortunate Gentleman. The other (I know) did move his Ma^{tie}. in my behalfe for my returne into England severall tymes; but Could obtayne no Grace.

Thus.

Thus finding my selfe, most entirely ruined, and hopeles of ever recovering, either in England, or els where; I betooke my selfe to a resolution, as contrary to my temper, humour, and custome, as one opposite, can well be to another; where unto I could never constrain my inclination, through the whole course of my life, untill that tyme: which was to retire my selfe not only from all kinde of affaires, of what nature soever; but even from the usual contentment, of humane conversation; as far forth as the possibility of subsisting Could admit; and to lead an Hermitical kinde of life; to which end, having through the frendship of a worthy person, to whome I was knowne; procured in the country, a little house in a garden; (but as great as my designe.) Thither I retired my selfe; and soe continued during the space of five years; having had in all that tyme, very little other society, then my bookes, and meditations. notwithstanding this great circumspection; and harmles way of living; I Could not be entirely free from some practises, which had been (for a long tyme) one of the chiefe causes, of my great calamitie; in soe much that I then did (and doe now) thinke; that if the very trees Could have had the discour-sive faculty; they would have been employ'd to my disadvantage; which made me as much as was decently possible, to avoyd the speaking with all man kinde: but in this egiptiene darknes (by intervalls) God extraordinarily afforded me such glimerings of light, that I Could discover, the first movers, reasons, ends, and instruments, of all these practises; as likewise that passion in the first; and interest in the last, produced these effects; from which (I playnly saw) no manner of life, that I Could confine my selfe unto, was of sufficient force to free me.

These considerations which were solid, and reall; exempt from all Hypochondriacall vapours, or chimeras; together with the very sensible decay of my health, through this way of living; as likewise, that melancholy sensibility of my to heavy distresse, not having been Stoicien enough, to have lost my feeling; together with other reasons that I shall not mention; I concluded my return to Leuwarden (at least for the winter) more conduciblet to my health, to my security, and more convenient in other considerations then the country, about the end of September 1679, I posted my selfe there; where I lived as free, from all conversation, as I had done at Bergum. In the year 1680, coming to the knowledg of some things which concerned me in the highest degree; that I Could be touched with; and perceiving by the prints (which were frequent, and filled therewith)

that the defordres in England, were risen to that Height; that the storme seemed to blow, from all points of the compals; and not only conjecturing that I should be suspected, but knowing that I was foe (though innocent, as to all those transactions, as the childe whoe had never seen the light) I begun to thinke with my selfe, what course was fittest for me to steer; and after much deliberation, I concluded it absolutely best, to write into England; which accordingly I did, to a person whoe I thought Could not be exposed to any suspicion; and by their means, (if they would have adventured it) to have letters delivered to some of the Court, whoe had formerly been my friends; this person answered my letter, and undertooke what I desired: Whereupon calling the saying to minde, that he that walkes circumspectly, walkes surely (allbeit I saw no necessity to have done it, as things were betwixt England and this State) I demanded leave, from those, whoe had the power to accord it me; for my writing to such of my friends, as would have endeavoured to get my proscription taken off, free and entire liberty, was graunted me, very Generously; without those limitations, which I offered to Impose upon my selfe.

I wrote three letters, to persons of Importance at the court; one tooke tyme to resolve whither he would receive his, or not; but after three or four days consideration excused it: the other twoe received my letters, promised answers; but as I have since knowne, not finding means to obtaine any thing in my favour, wrote not to me. However, at length, one whoe had credit, was Induced to receive letters from me, and to write to me;

My end, and endeavour was; first to make my innocency appear demonstrably, touching all correspondence, or colusion with any of his Maties. subjects; either in, or out of his Dominions; nor to have had foe much as knowledg, of any contrivements or designes, tending in any kinde, or degree, to the prejudice of his person, or disturbance of his Gouvernement. And nevertheless, that I knew, negatives were most difficult to be proved; yet by inductions, and necessary consequences, much may be clearly demonstrated. Besides, I was certayne, that it Could not be in the power of mankinde, to prove any such matter against me; haveing ever since my residing in Freezland, been foe exactly circumspect, not to give any just occasion of jalousie; that I have entirely avoided the speaking with any, whoe I knew, or did but Imagine, to have been suspected, by his Matie. as disaffected to his person,

tion, or Gouvernment : and if any such , have desired any communication with me , I have civilly excused it ; as that which Could not have been beneficiall to them , and might have proved damageable to my selfe. Nor have I ever done it , to this moment ; either by interview , speech , writing , or Message ; sent , or received.

Nor have I had any other knowledge , of those plots , and practises , during these last ten years (which have filled all Christendome with noise) saving what I have seen in print ; and not before it was publique.

These truths having been soe made appear , as that they neither had been , nor Could be contradicted , by any lawfull evidence , or reasonable appearance , I flattered my selfe (as indeed I have done) into the hopes of getting my proscription taken off ; and might have met with no opposition from England (which has allways befallen me) to my obtaining employment abroad , in case of a foraigne war , which till about eighteen months since , I concluded unavoydable ; having been positively resolved , to throwe my selfe , into the first engagement , where I best Could , with the satisfaction of my Conscience , thereby to have honourably ended (if God had thought it fit) an unhappy , and a burthenfull life , more to my contentment ; then the continuation thereof for many years has been.

Perceiving now no means remayning , in this dead calme , which is Joyfully believed of 20 years continuance , for the lawfull persuance of my designe ; being likewise deprived of all hopes in England ; I resolve , during the short reste of my life with as much tranquility , as God shall please to voutsafe me , to submit to his holy will , in whose booke , the numbers of our dayes are registred , wayting on him till my change comes , whoe sways all men , and actions , to those ends for which he has ordayned them : in this course , to meet with the less interruption ; I yet determine neither to discompose my selfe , nor give any ombrage to others , by meddling with wordly affaires , further then the necessity of my subsistence may constraine me to it : which I conceive cannot happen , if I am dealt justly with , by those for whome I have visibly suffered , to great extremities , for Divers years.

This being my sincere intention ; I shall sum up the principal points , which have (in some kinde) constrained me to become publique , to the following heads , and soe conclude.

First I here declare , and protest , (which I doe with a clear , and safe conscience) that since my leaving of England , with his Maties. permission ; I have had no correspondence , by writing , receaving of letters , or Messa- ges , into , or out of England , or of any other part of his Dominions , nor have had any consultations , or contrivements with any of his subjects abroad , tending to the raising , or fomenting any discontents , uproors , seditions , or treasons , against his person , or Gouverment.

Secondly that from the year 1665 , after the first war was declared by England against this State ; I neither wrote , nor received any letter or Message , into , or out of England , or any other of the Kings Dominions , untill the year 1674. after the last peace concluded at Breda , and then only (as I have allready sayd) unto twoe persons of as great honour , and fide- lity to the King , as I have ever knowne , and of the neerest places , and trust about him : at which tyme , I wrote but twoe , or three letters , with Communication of some persons , in the greatest consideration in the Gouverment of this state. Nothing at that tyme , haveing been obtainned for me : I wrote not more , till the end of 1679 , or the beginning of 1680 ; and then writh free leave of those in cheif authority where I was ; and only for the ends , I have allready mentioned.

Thirdly and lastly , knowing positively , and particularly , that by some very ill persons , I have been accused , to have spoken , undecently , and undutifully , concerning the late King , of happy Memory , as likewise of some other Princes abroad of the Royale blood ; which has been belie- ved , and contributed as much to my late Calamities , as those other mat- ters of a higher nature , and may yet reduce me to greater extremities , then I thinke decent for me to mention. Wherefor I doe declare , that I have never at any tyme , nor on any occasion , mentioned his late Matie. neither any other Prince of the blood , capable of a legall succession (at any tyme , or event which can happen) to the crowne , but with that due respect and modesty , which became a subject to speak of his Souveraigne ; or a sober man , of such whoe are in a legal possibility to become soe.

Few men can be ignorant (and to many not insensible) of the prodigious liberty , which has of late years been taken , of false informations in secret , (which being belived , without due examination ; no man can be safe) as likewise , of Improbable , untrue , and contradictory evidences in publi- que , and of most Impudent perjury , which renders it a bold hazard , for any man to lay himselfe open to , yet such is my innocency (as to all theise

matters) and soe great , and full the satisfaction of my conscience, that I shall venture to declare ; that if any man upon the earth ; either of his Majties. subjects, or strangers, will say, and can sufficiently , and authentically prove, the contrary to any one of these assertions ; I shall freely with my soul forgive him, if he does it, and be contented to suffer death.

As I began , soe I shall end : that false accusations , with secret and detestable practises, to destroye me , or at least , to continue me under the Calamity which has long layne heavy upon me (much worse to me, then death) have constrayned me to this course, as unfit for me, as I am for it ; referring my selfe to the equitable sensure of unpreoccupied persons ; the judgment of my cause to God, and my soul in all events , to his incomprehensible mercy.

F I N I S.

